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27 April 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ZHIVKOV LECTURE NO 7 AT BCP ACADEMY FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES, MANAGEMENT

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[Seventh in a series of lectures delivered by Todor Zhivkov to the students and faculty of the BCP Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management, published by Partizdat: "The April Line of the BCP--Marxism-Leninism in Action"; for lectures 1-6 see JPRS East Europe Report EPS-84-019, 6 February 1984]

[Text] Comrades:

The lectures I read to you, teachers and students of the BCP Central Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management, have been published. This final lecture, as we agreed, will deal with the questions you asked. Meanwhile, questions were sent to me from other areas and many citizens. I think that it would be proper to answer them as well.

Let me note with satisfaction that such questions enable me to go back to some of the main laws governing our progress, included in the theoretical and practical developments of our party and in its work and struggle for the further building of developed socialism in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

What laws do I have in mind?

First, the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution under the conditions of building a developed socialist society.

Second, the advancement of socialist social relations and, more especially, relations between the owner and manager of socialist property, which are the core of this process.

Third, the objective effect of the law of value and related commodity-monetary relations.

Fourth, the increased role of the people's masses as the makers of history and the development of socialist democracy as the main prerequisite for the further advancement of the activities of the entire political system.

As you know, problems of democracy were extensively dealt with in the report and resolutions of the 12th Party Congress. The stipulations on the development of the political system were enriched in the resolutions of the congresses held by the Bulgarian Trade Unions, Fatherland Front, Dimitrov Komsomol

and other mass social organizations. In accordance with these resolutions new laws were passed, decrees were promulgated by the State Council and the Council of Ministers and the party concept of the new Labor Code was presented for nationwide discussion.

1. On the Role of the Scientific and Technical Revolution in Building Developed Socialism in Our Country

Comrades:

Whatever problem of our development we may consider--production, technological, sociopolitical or ideological--we inevitably touch upon the role and influence of the scientific and technical revolution. Is this fact accidental? No, it is not. It proves the organic connection between the scientific and technical revolution and the progress of mature socialism.

Why?

First. The scientific and technical revolution is a revolution of production forces.

The industrial utilization of nuclear electric power, computers and systems, microelectronics, robotics, biotechnologies and so on is of a truly revolutionary nature. The utilization of new labor tools and technologies radically changes the aspect of the technical production base. New artificial materials are extensively developed, replacing a number of traditional raw materials and metals. Their utilization changes the labor objects and enhances the quality of manufactured goods.

The trend of turning science into a direct productive force, which was discovered and described by Marx, is developing extensively. The links between science and production are becoming increasingly dynamic and closer. Science, metaphorically speaking, is today blending with production, becoming its heart and its soul. Without science and its achievements, without their fast and efficient utilization in production, the accelerated growth of public labor productivity would be inconceivable and so would taking even a single step forward in any area of social life.

Substantial changes are taking place in man's labor activities.

As you know, the Marxist classics considered the development of technology a process of replacing manual with machine labor. Marx predicted that the time will come when the worker, i.e., the person will stand "alongside the production process instead of being its main agent."* It is precisely this process in the course of which the functions of direct control of labor tools are transferred from the person to the equipment which is extensively developing today.

* K. Marx and F. Engels, "Such." [Works], vol 46, part II, p 192.

Under the conditions of the socialist system public production automation and development of cybernetics accelerate the elimination of the major disparities between mental and physical labor and the ascent of rural standards to those of the city. The possibilities of upgrading the general and professional standards of the working people and ensuring the comprehensive social realization of the socialist individual become greater.

Second. The scientific and technical revolution is the main booster of comprehensive intensification.

The period of extensive development was objectively inevitable and yielded rich positive results. Its possibilities, however, have become exhausted. At the same time, precisely under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution a new social need developed: the need for intensive progress to be extended not only to individual sectors but to the entire material production process and not only to it but also to the nonproduction area, to all social activities. The task is clear: Within the shortest possible time we must comprehensively convert to a primarily intensive development of the economy and the other realms of social life.

From the viewpoint of the content of intensification we must achieve the fullest possible utilization of the three elements of public labor: labor tools, labor objects and manpower; we must drastically increase public labor productivity and improve the quality of the goods produced and of public labor itself.

From the viewpoint of the means to which such intensification is taking place, we must achieve the full and overall utilization of the contemporary achievements of science and technology in production. Accordingly, we are directing our attention to the fast introduction of new vanguard technologies and equipment and the mass study, dissemination and application of leading experience, both domestic and foreign.

In order to open the way to intensification we must enhance the intellectualization of production and labor. We have real possibilities of multiplying the power of human knowledge and skills by equipping our production process with "thinking machines." Such automatic machines will resolve specific problems as assigned far more rapidly and better than any person. In this manner man will begin to apply essentially his creative gifts and possibilities in the labor process.

Consequently, we must see to it that qualitatively new labor tools and means are included in the production process and in the remaining social areas. Such is the core of the problem of the connection between contemporary scientific and technical progress and intensification under the conditions of building a developed socialist society.

Third. The millions of working people--workers, specialists, scientists and educators--play a decisive role in making the scientific and technical revolution.

Resolving the problem of organically relating the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist system depends to the greatest extent on them, on their knowledge, professional skills and means of participation in social labor.

Practical experience indicates that a high technological growth of output and management and high labor productivity are achieved wherever the constructive energy of our main productive force--man--has become most fully involved. That is why we are taking systematic steps further to enhance the role of the individual and the labor collective. Our objective is to create real economic and political guarantees for the active participation of every socialist working person in the application of contemporary scientific and technical achievements.

Fourth. The struggle for making the scientific and technical revolution is a class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

Unquestionably, the scientific and technical revolution is a global socio-historical phenomenon. It is taking place in both the socialist and capitalist countries. It is an objective fact which we must take into consideration in all respects--political, industrial, technological, ideological, military and so on.

Reality proves that the scientific and technical revolution does not eliminate the main ulcers and faults of the bourgeois system. This strengthens even further our confidence that socialism alone can ensure the fullest possible application of its achievements in the interest of the individual and the entire society.

By mastering the leading positions of scientific and technical progress, socialism is having a powerful revolutionizing impact on the awareness of the broadest possible masses on earth and increases the attractiveness of communist ideas. The strongest weapon on which socialism relies in its historical competition against capitalism is labor--more qualitative, more productive and more humane labor, labor which relies increasingly on the latest achievements and discoveries of the scientific and technical revolution.

I was asked the following question: "Is there a substantial difference between the material and technical base of developed socialism, which we are creating in our country, and the material and technical base of the advanced capitalist countries?" Probably the comrade who asked this question had in mind the stipulation expressed in my first lecture on the role of the scientific and technical revolution in building the material and technical base of mature socialism.

It is true that the advanced capitalist countries as well are making great efforts to improve their material and technical base on the foundations of the achievements of this revolution. However, the material and technical base of mature socialism which we are building is substantially different from the material and technical base of the developed capitalist countries, above all in terms of its socioeconomic nature and socioeconomic functions.

As I already emphasized, its main social purpose is to offer scope for the growth of production forces and to ensure the necessary prerequisites for the increasingly fuller satisfaction of social requirements, enhancing the material and cultural living standards of the individual and the people and the comprehensive development of the person.

Within a historically short time we created a material and technical base powerful in terms of the scale of our country. This base was built and we are continuing to build it without crises and social upheavals. The burden of the costs are not transferred to the working people. On the contrary, their living standards are steadily improving. This has not taken place nor could it take place in any capitalist country, particularly at a starting production level such as ours.

A highly developed material and technical base offers the possibility of achieving the objectives of mature socialism and increasingly identifying its historical advantages. This means that we must march in step with the scientific and technical revolution. That is why we take into consideration the requirements and the logic of its development by formulating and implementing our own selective strategy. With its help we try to accelerate scientific and technical progress and drastically to upgrade social labor productivity.

Naturally, we continually compare our results against those of the developed industrial countries. This gives us an accurate guideline as to whether we have truly reached the level of global accomplishments or are using domestic yardsticks. The reason is that we are trying to make the level of our output in a number of areas higher than that of the most developed industrial countries.

Let me repeat that the qualitative aspect of the material and technical base of developed socialism should be sought not in machines, equipment and technology but in the objectives, in the specific socioeconomic tasks which our society sets itself and resolves through it.

The material and technical foundations for mature socialism are entirely aimed at the person, at creating conditions for his increasingly full realization in labor and through labor. Furthermore, socialist society takes prompt steps to prevent possible negative social consequences of scientific and technical progress, such as unemployment, worsened living conditions, environmental pollution and so on. We are also facilitated by the circumstance that we are able to carry out the necessary structural changes in the material and technical base by using the opportunities and advantages offered by socialist economic integration.

A substantial number of questions which were sent to me deal with the further participation of Bulgaria in this integration and in the development of the international division of labor.

I will touch on some aspects.

Our party considers the participation of our country in the international division of labor and objective necessity determined by legitimately developing processes in the world's and the national economies.

Historical experience proves that production forces can successfully develop by eliminating restrictions of national markets and developing the international specialization of production and utilizing the economic and scientific and technical potential of all countries. Large-scale industry objectively and inevitably creates a trend toward increasing internationalization of production and trade.

The impact of this trend is particularly strong on countries such as Bulgaria, which has a small territory, a limited national market and insufficient domestic raw materials, fuels and energy. We can hope for an accelerated and stable development only by making use of the opportunities offered by the international division of labor in production specialization, increasing series manufacturing and reducing production costs and, at the same time, procuring some of the facilities we need for industrial and consumer purposes from other countries. Our national economy neither has nor could have another path to follow!

Let me especially emphasize in this connection that Bulgaria's successes in economic, scientific and technical and social development and the increased opportunities it enjoys for faster advancement in all areas are decisively due also to our participation in socialist economic integration and our comprehensive cooperation and rapprochement with the Soviet Union.

The progress we have achieved so far proves that Bulgaria's economy is organically related to the international division of labor. It is a highly open economy.

Our country is increasing its foreign trade further and further. Between 1960 and 1982 its overall volume increased tenfold while the volume of exports alone increased by a factor of 13. Today more than 73 percent of our foreign trade is with the members of CEMA, in which the USSR alone accounts for more than 53 percent.

We are engaged in extensive economic and scientific and technical cooperation with most countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We are also developing our mutually profitable economic relations with the developed capitalist countries.

The volume and nature of our foreign economic relations are being increasingly determined by the production and export of industrial commodities, particularly machines and equipment for industrial purposes.

Our participation in international scientific and technical cooperation is increasing as is our role in industrial cooperation, the construction of complete projects in other countries, international crediting and others.

The party is invariably guided in its foreign economic policy by the principle of priority development of economic integration with the CEMA-member countries, the Soviet Union above all, on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

One of the main tasks on which we are currently concentrating our efforts is decisively to improve the efficiency of Bulgaria's participation in the international division of labor.

What does this mean?

Let us take as an example the ratio of prices at which we sell our commodities on the international market and in which we purchase the imported goods we need. The average import prices are increasingly significantly faster compared to the prices of the commodities we export.

What are the reasons for this adverse ratio?

Some of them may be found in the activities of our foreign trade organizations. We are not studying closely and profoundly the situation on the international markets, for which reason we frequently sell at unjustifiably low prices and purchase at excessively high ones.

Other reasons must be sought in the structure of our exports, which include the individual commodities or groups of commodities in which the foreign customer is not interested. We must systematically renovate our sectorial export structure by decisively curtailing unprofitable and futureless items.

The bulk of the reasons, however, as I already stressed at the national conference in Varna (1983) should be sought in the quality of the goods we export.

By selling goods of lower quality and purchasing higher quality goods the gap between export and import prices invariably works to our detriment. This inevitably influences our national income and, therefore, the pace at which the living standard of the people is increasing.

Poor quality may cost us some of our markets, for in a number of cases the goods we export have lower consumer qualities compared to exports by our competitors. More specifically, this is manifested in the lower reliability of some domestic output, its higher material and energy-intensiveness and, not least, the unaesthetic shape in which we offer it to the customer. The quality of exported commodities is of decisive importance in terms of our participation in the international market.

Our foreign trade will continue to grow. Within it machine building will be given priority. We must consolidate our positions in the export of lifting machinery, microprocessor and microintegral electronic equipment, robots, manipulators and other means of production automation, machines and equipment for the chemical, light and food industries and agricultural machinery. The export of biotechnological equipment is particularly promising. We shall try to develop also the higher forms of participation in the international division of labor, such as international scientific and technical cooperation, industrial cooperation, building complete projects in other countries, joint trading and production in third countries, and so on.

All of this proves the vital importance which decisively upgrading the quality of export output has in terms of the effectiveness of our participation in the international division of labor.

2. On the Ability To Rely on Objective Laws and To Discover and Create New Forms of Organization of the Activities of the Individual and the People

Comrades:

The making of the scientific and technical revolution is an exceptionally important pattern in building a mature socialist society. We cannot advance without taking into consideration the objective nature of this pattern and by ignoring its requirements. This applies also to all other laws governing our development.

In this connection I would like especially to discuss questions pertaining to the stipulation of the state and the owner and the labor collective as the manager and commodity-monetary relations. I believe that these questions are interrelated and that, combined, they pertain to the question already raised of the role of objective laws of social development and the role of individuals and the subjective factor in the functioning of such laws.

Why? Because on problems of the labor collective and commodity-monetary relations we can follow the true path only if we adopt a proper attitude toward the stipulations of objective laws and the possibilities of the subjective factor. On this matter let me remind you of the views of our teachers.

First. Society develops in accordance with objective laws which depend neither on the will nor the awareness of people, of the "chiefs" as Lenin said. Society does not allow arbitrary changes in its development. Consequently, it would be utopian to think that the subjective factor, that we, the people, can do anything we want.

Second. Our freedom, our possibilities as a subjective factor lie in our knowledge of the requirements of the objective laws and accordingly to create conditions for their increasingly full manifestation. This is a source of our strength and of our possibilities of accelerating social progress. We must use them rather than waste our efforts in futile attempts to circumvent social laws. A radical improvement in the production relations of developed socialism can be achieved only by taking into consideration the effect of the objective laws of socialism.

Such is the case of the labor collective, which has been discussed for quite some time.

What are, therefore, the new features?

What is new is that our party and state are assigning to the labor collective the management of socialist property.

Why did we not raise the role of the labor collective in this manner earlier?

Because the stipulation that the labor collective is the manager is a natural conclusion of the profound quantitative and qualitative changes in socialist

ownership. I already mentioned these changes in one of my lectures. What is the main feature? The main feature is that in our country the state--in the name of and as empowered by the people--is the actual owner of socialist property.

The stipulation that the labor collective is the manager is a manifestation of a social need realized by the party: the need to find a new method for linking even more closely individual and collective interests with the interests of the public and for developing individual and collective initiative and ensuring a new and more efficient tie between people and productive capital. This is our answer to the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution and the need to ensure a qualitatively new activeness by the people to the benefit of society and, on this basis, ensure the better satisfaction of their needs and interests.

All of you know that our party formulated a substantiated concept on the further development and advancement of labor relations, in which the labor collective was assigned a key part.

Under the guidance of a party-governmental commission, which was approved at the November 1982 BCP Central Committee Plenum, a group of specialists are drafting a new Labor Code. We are drafting a law on the labor collective and on the competitive and elective principles. Accomplishments so far indicate that finding juridical solutions and formulations consistent with a number of concepts on the role of the labor collective as the manager of socialist property will be no easy matter. However, we must not be frightened by the difficulties. We do not consider the stipulation of the labor collective-manager a political declaration but an important prerequisite for changes and progress in labor relations. That is why we expect the science of the law to provide us with accurate solutions. The representatives of the other sciences related to problems of labor and labor relations--economics, sociology, psychology and so on--should also make their contribution.

Let me stress that the distinction we are making between the state as the owner and the labor collective as the manager should not be absolutized. In our socialist state a dialectical unity exists between the owner and the manager. When we claim that the state is the owner of the socialist property this is not to say that it cannot resolve economic problems and that in this sense, it cannot fulfill its functions as a manager. These functions, however, apply to the national economy as a whole and are secured through the state plan.

The enterprise is frequently described as the manager of socialist property. In this manner it is identified with the labor collective. The fundamental stipulations of the party concept of the new Labor Code makes an essential distinction between the two concepts. The enterprise is a structural part of the organizational-production structure of the national economy. However, the enterprise is not the manager of socialist property, for the enterprise itself is owned by the state or the cooperative.

The labor collective is the manager within the framework of the specific enterprise, shop, brigade and so on. It manages the socialist property which

has been assigned or granted to it for its use. As a manager, according to the party concept, it has the right to participate in the management of the enterprise and to manage its own affairs.

On the other hand, the labor collective is not only the manager of socialist property. As an inseparable part of the people and together with the people it is the owner of the socialist property. At the same time, together with the entire people, it has empowered the state to fulfill ownership functions, thus preserving the unity and integrity of the property and ensuring its development in the interest of society. Consequently, the labor collective cannot assume the rights of the state and handle on behalf of the state the property entrusted to it. However, it cannot remain indifferent to the practical exercise of ownership rights by the state and its economic organs and managers.

Why? Because the labor collective formulates and adopts the counterplan; participates in the acquisition and distribution of part of the newly created product by setting up the investment funds and, in coordination with the state organs, decides on their utilization; it not only supervises its own activities but the activities of the enterprise as a whole, it participates in governmental affairs through direct and representative democracy and so on.

However, comrades, the distance between a theoretical formulation and its practical implementation is long. We are faced with extensive organizational, research and educational work. We need not only economic, legal and state norms but significant changes in the way of thinking and workstyle of managing and performing cadres and all working people.

What are the more important problems which arise in the implementation of this concept?

First, in order for the labor collective to be able to perform its managerial functions it should be considered an autonomous subject of labor relations along with the traditional subjects of such relations--the state, the enterprise and the working person.

I would like expressly to emphasize in this connection that the labor collective as a whole is the manager of socialist property. It participates in the elaboration and adoption of counterplans, determining the structure of the collective, the taking of steps to strengthen labor discipline, the appointment of economic managers, the making of decisions related to the use of social funds and so on. The decisions of the labor collective must be final and have the force of law in many of these matters.

We must also regulate the decision-making procedure itself to which the labor collective is a party. We must not allow the reproduction of the old decision-making system in which the labor collective was assigned a secondary role merely as a consulting party.

Consequently, today the main thing is to create the necessary conditions and interest in the primary labor collectives in brigades, shops and departments

as well as in the main labor collectives in production enterprises and organizations in the nonproduction area, i.e., wherever the direct labor process is taking place, so that such collectives may become full managers displaying a concerned attitude toward the property assigned to them. Such is the direction on which we must focus our efforts.

Second, another basic problem is that of the interrelationship between the labor collective and the economic manager. Fears have been expressed that granting extensive and real rights to the labor collective would restrict the perimeter of the authorities and lower the authority of the economic manager and violate the one-man command principle. In no case should this be allowed. The manager is not only a member of the labor collective and its representative in relations with state, economic and public organs and organizations. He is above all the representative of the state who must defend the interests of the public and implement state policy.

The role of the manager becomes far more responsible with the broadening of labor democracy and the application of the competitive and selective principle. He must combine the two types of interests: the interests of the state and those of the collective. However, these interests are not antagonistic. On the contrary, the task of the manager and the labor collective is one and the same: the full and highly efficient utilization of productive capital.

Third, a more accurate answer is needed to the following question: Which labor collectives do we have in mind when we say that their role as manager should be given the power of a law?

In my view, this applies essentially to the labor collective at the primary levels--the enterprise, shop and brigade, for this is the community in which the people engage in joint work. Here contacts and reciprocal control are exercised best and interests unite the members of the collective most strongly. As to the territorially divided combines and economic organizations, a number of stipulations and practical solutions aimed at enhancing the role of the labor collective lose their effective meaning and significance, for in this case we are dealing with several collectives.

Some may ask what to do with labor collectives in the nonmaterial area, the collectives of the central departments? Obviously, they have specific features. Regulations and directives have been formulated, which are consistent with those specifics. At the same time, however, some problems related to discipline, rights and responsibilities, labor environment and relations within the collective, require the adoption of an essentially identical approach as that applied to collectives engaged in material production.

As we may see, these considerations affect not only the labor collective but the entire system of social life, the entire system of social management in our country.

I recently received a group of questions related to perfecting the party and state apparatus. I was asked: "Comrade Zhivkov, what are the basic

stipulations included in your report note in connection with the further application of the new economic mechanism and the improvement of management, which was discussed and approved at the January 1984 BCP Central Committee Plenum?"

The documents of the 12th Party Congress stipulate that "our economic policy can be successfully implemented through the systematic and comprehensive application of the new economic approach. The main question now is for all elements of the new economic approach and its mechanism to be comprehensively applied in all economic organizations, brigades and social activities."* In the spirit of this important party task and as an essential aspect of its implementation, the report note earmarks steps in two interrelated directions: the further comprehensive advancement of the management system in accordance with the new conditions and the systematic application of the new economic approach and its mechanism. It is a question of taking decisive and radical steps which will enable us to improve national economic management in accordance with the principles and requirements of the new economic approach and its mechanism.

Let me immediately specify that this does not mean the adoption of an essentially new economic mechanism. Our practical experience so far has confirmed the correctness of the basic stipulations governing the current mechanism. Consequently, the question is to ensure the full application and practical implementation of such stipulations.

At the same time, the report note includes a number of stipulations which will expand and further develop the economic mechanism in accordance with the requirements of life itself. The further advancement of the existing economic mechanism is made necessary by the experience which we have acquired in the course of its application. This experience indicates that the problems of our economic development cannot be resolved exclusively through individual incentive approaches or temporary management systems, however well they may have been formulated. We must take into consideration the condition and development of production forces as a whole, and, on this basis, to resolve the problem of radically improving production relations. On the other hand, our theory has been enriched significantly. In this case the stipulation of the state as the owner and the labor collective as the manager of socialist property is of fundamental significance. This stipulation demands a number of new solutions applicable to the various problems of management and economic and social life.

I repeat: The implementation of the new economic approach and its mechanism is a complex process. It is essentially a major reform which we describe conventionally as the "new economic approach and new economic mechanism." Its implementation was not dictated by failures in the economy or failures and omissions in the activities of our cadres. After the April Plenum we gained successes which were highly rated by our friends and which even our enemies have been forced to acknowledge. These successes were achieved by

* T. Zhivkov, "BCP Central Committee Report to the 12th Congress and the Forthcoming Party Tasks," Sofia, 1981, p 42.

the working class, the agricultural working people and the intelligentsia. They are the result of the dedicated work of managing and performing cadres in our country.

The purpose of the new economic approach and its mechanism is to provide an even broader field of action for the objective laws of building developed socialism and to provide a strong and accelerated impetus to the scientific and technical revolution under socialist conditions. We want to make even fuller use of these laws in order to turn science into a direct productive force and to raise to a new level of development our main productive force--man.

We are trying to make full use of the opportunities of the real socialization which we achieved in socialist ownership and, on this basis, decisively to improve socialist social relations.

We are trying to make even fuller use of the advantages of socialism in order to ensure the true blossoming of the personality and open a wide road for able and talented people, for the flower of our nation.

More specifically, what does the report note stipulate?

Above all, it stipulates the enhancement of the stimulating role of the economic mechanism in accelerating scientific and technical progress. Significant changes have been earmarked in the approach to and attitude toward this problem along the entire management chain, from the bottom to the top. Starting with the beginning of this year we are applying the rule that technical progress cannot be exclusively a matter of an individual sector, administration, development unit and so on. Technical progress, the application of the achievements of science and technology, must be the main task, the main problem in the activities of all units within the management system and their leaderships, whether it is a question of a ministry, corporation, trust, combine or enterprise.

The application of scientific and technical accomplishments must be the permanent and primary concern of the leaders of these units. They will be personally responsible for the implementation of this assignment and it is this which will determine their growth in their position or upwards. The principle which we have applied so far, which was to pay a manager his full wages regardless of the condition of technical progress and consequent qualitative results, will be abandoned.

We are also changing the system of maintenance of development units by improving the system of wages, evaluations and promotions, and awarding degrees and titles to scientific workers in the applied science institutes. The maintenance of these institutes and of engineering-application organizations and units will depend entirely on the results achieved from the application of the developments. So far the self-financing and operating on the basis of a contractual system of these institutes and units has been formal only.

As a small country with an open economy, we must continue to pursue a selective policy in basic research, developing above all trends related to our

national specialization and our available creative potential. In this manner we will unquestionably intensify the contribution of science to the country's economic and social progress, the blossoming of the culture of the Bulgarian nation and the comprehensive development of the individual.

The next essential feature applies to the need for corresponding structural and functional changes in economic management. We shall closely study and analyze the entire current multistep structure of the economic organizations themselves. Our repeated efforts to reduce the size of the administrative personnel and the number of intermediary steps yielded virtually no results, essentially because of our wish to achieve such a reduction without simplifying the multistep structure of the economic organizations, without reducing the functions of the middle and higher management units of enterprises and without introducing substantial changes in the very technology of management and its information support.

In the future our management system will be oriented toward a two-step connection: combine-corporation or trust-corporation without, naturally, excluding the existence of many large, medium or small enterprises which either work autonomously or within the corporation. The viewpoint of the Politburo is that we must continue to perfect the structure, functions and tasks of the organs of the Council of Ministers and to complete the reorganization of the sectorial ministries as organs of state management of the respective sector.

The next important feature applies to some changes in the economic mechanism itself. These changes will relieve the economic enterprises from petty current supervision and restraints and will offer them the opportunity to develop their economic initiative. The labor collectives will fully exercise their rights as the real managers. Relations between them and the state-owner will be based on an economic foundation, on the contract principle. This means that the state-owner will allocate to the labor collectives specific production facilities and financial resources and will demand specific end results. It will not interfere in the current work of the economic organization or the labor collectives. There will be no place here for administrative orders issued by superior organs but of strict observance of rules of behavior stipulated by the owner and universally applicable to all. Anyone who violates these rules will be held materially and criminally liable.

Stimulating production quality and, in general, the quality of the work, is a central problem of the changes which are to be made in the economic mechanism. The economic mechanism must be incompatible with justifications such as "the item is good but its packaging is bad; the item is good but its design is worthless; the item is good but its reliability is less good; the item is good but our servicing is poor; our output is good but the merchant does not know how to sell it" and so on.

Starting with 1 January 1984 the production enterprises will be responsible not only for production but also for marketing domestically and abroad. Naturally, this does not mean that each enterprise will undertake to sell its goods by itself or that we will abandon the advantages of the high degree of

concentration in foreign trade. It will only mean that if anyone is to form an association for joint foreign trade it will be precisely the producers. Currently it is not they but foreign trade enterprises which are separate from the production process, who form associations.

The universal strict rule will be the following: Losses incurred by those who work poorly within a system will not be covered by those who work well within the same system. All will receive exactly what they deserve.

The very payment for labor--the basic and additional wages of workers and managerial personnel--will be made dependent on the quality indicators which guarantee intensive economic development.

The competitiveness of every single item must be assessed on a comprehensive basis. The comprehensive assessment must be expressed through the price which it will fetch on the international market.

Major changes must be made also within the system of material and technical procurements and their organization on a commercial basis; in the tax system, including the mechanism for appropriation and redistribution of the differential rental payments; in the nature and functions of the turnover tax; in the wage tax in overburdened urban working centers; in the taxes which regulate stability; in the price-setting system which includes a number of absurdities; in the wage control mechanism, which is currently exceptionally complex and insufficiently efficient, and so on. We are still not ready for a large number of such changes. In all likelihood, we shall be able to undertake them at the beginning of next year. Therefore, 1985 will be the test year for perfecting the economic mechanism which will be fully operational during the 9th Five-Year Plan (1986-1990).

Clearly, we must resolve difficult and responsible problems which affect all areas of our social life. This justifies the concern expressed in some of the questions I received on the application of the new economic mechanism, the measures aimed at the self-satisfaction of the population, the exercise of our social policy and so on. I shall discuss some of them.

The first is the following: "We know that commodity-monetary relations offer opportunities for the manifestation of negative phenomena. What are the ways and means of struggling against them?"

In the course of its activities our party is guided by the concept that commodity-monetary relations exist objectively and are manifested specifically under socialist conditions. Any attempt artificially to restrict them through administrative measures, as was practiced during the period of the cult of personality, means to doom the entire economy to major disproportions and upheavals. The strength of the new economic approach lies in the fact that it enables us to use them as a powerful incentive for the development of the socialist economy and for enhancing the living standard of the working people.

However, comrades, since commodity-monetary relations exist some negative phenomena related to them are also inevitable. Manifestations of greed,

aspiration for personal enrichment at the expense of others and an easy life without work or social obligations are frequent. A tendency to sponge developments in some labor collectives. The existing situation is used for unearned and illegal income. The desire appears to shift difficulties to others and to live at the expense of society. Other similar phenomena exist as well.

Let me stress above all that our society has extensive possibilities of erecting reliable barriers against attempts to undermine the socialist labor order by carriers of such negative phenomena.

Above all, we must improve distribution relations. They must block the path of profiteers, of those who appropriate a share of other people's labor speculatively, and anyone who wants to live at someone else's expense without working.

Secondly, we must apply more efficiently the laws and administrative ordinances. Our laws and ordinances must guarantee to every member of society a just reward for conscientious and qualitative work. They must protect the individual and society from any encroachments on socialist labor and moral principles. This presumes, finally, the stabilization of the normative organization of the economic mechanism, for endless changes within it create conditions not only for confusion but abuse as well.

Thirdly, we must enhance the role of social control in the struggle against deviations from the norms of socialist community life and the stipulations of the country's laws. Now the emphasis on such control must fall on the labor collective in the conurbation system.

Fourthly, we must energize our ideological and educational work. It cannot and should not remain separated from the economic problems we are resolving. It must be militant and aggressive. It must be molded and supported by the civic stance of the individual.

Yes, a number of negative phenomena and some serious social deformations exist in our development. There are many misuses of socialist property, waste, theft and violations of labor, technological, financial, general, etc., discipline. They affect the moral climate in our society, the education of the people and the young generation and the behavior of individual strata. We must steadily fight against them using the means of socialist legality, persuasion and propaganda.

I believe, however, that it is particularly important today to study even more profoundly the reasons and factors which create such phenomena. We cannot explain them merely as being vestiges of capitalism, the influence of Western propaganda or the objective effect of commodity-monetary relations. There are frequent violations of the basic laws governing the development of our society and the basic principles and requirements which stem from its socialist nature. That is why we must not only struggle against consequences but above all undertake to resolve the main and essential problem: the elimination of the reasons for weaknesses and deformations in our social life.

Another question I received applied to private plots: "Is there not a danger that the development of public farms be held back as a result of encouraging the private plots?"

Yes, it is true that for the past few years we have pursued a policy of ensuring the fullest possible use of the private plots as a reserve in the production of comestible goods and as a source of additional income for the population. This policy has a major distinguishing feature: we are developing the private plots as the natural extension and supplement of the socialist public farm.

As you know, everyone in Bulgaria, from the worker to the general and the academician, can obtain land in which he can grow fruits, vegetables and so on with his own forces. Under certain conditions, without exploiting outside labor, anyone could sign a contract for engaging in petty trade and providing services to the population. Studies have indicated that currently some 60 percent of our population over 16 years of age has engaged in additional work, 55 percent of which in private plots.

What are the more important practical results of this policy?

In 1982 private plots accounted for 40 percent of the meat produced in our country, 28 percent of the milk, 55 percent of the eggs, 35 percent of the vegetables, 36 percent of the fruit and so on. Consequently, today private plots already account for a major percentage of the production of such items. This enables us increasingly to satisfy population demand;

The fact that the goods produced in the private plots are used for consumption not only by their producers is of exceptional importance. About 36 percent of these products are purchased by the state and only 4 percent go to the free market;

Currently about one-third of the income of the rural working people comes from their private plots, thus enhancing their living standard.

Private plots provide employment to some 500,000 pensioners in the countryside; this is a major additional reserve.

In viewing the private plots as the extension and supplement of the public farm, we must emphasize that the results achieved by the private plots are also due to the active aid and assistance of the state and the agroindustrial complexes. The private plots receive from the agroindustrial complexes land, seeds, planting materials, cattle for raising, fodder, and technical, agromonomical and zooveterinarian assistance. As a rule, with the help of the agroindustrial complexes they market their entire commodity output on the basis of contracts signed in advance. All of this gives them the nature of truly socialist private farms. Let us not forget that the land granted for private farming does not become the personal or collective ownership of those who work it.

Naturally, there have been cases in which this principled line has not been applied consistently and completely. This creates conditions for abuses and private ownership feelings.

In frequent cases the size of the thus-created private farms, particularly those engaged in raising cattle, significantly exceed the admissible size. This leads to the use of "covert" hired labor and the total separation of the people cultivating them from public farming. Some producers have essentially become entrepreneurs. Encroachments on the property of the agroindustrial complexes are increasing. Farm produce, fodder, land, fertilizers, spare parts, construction materials and others are appropriated. These are real phenomena existing in the use of private plots which we must surmount.

Great attention must be paid to the system of purchasing the goods produced in the private plots. This system has not been properly structured in a number of agroindustrial complexes. Frequently contracts are violated and some of the goods remain unused. There is a lack of purchasing centers and wherever such centers exist they have not been supplied with adequate inventory for normal work. This creates conditions for the restoration of resales.

It may be expedient to go back to the idea of creating economic associations in the conurbation systems. They could combine the efforts of all individual producers and organs, organizations and establishments dealing with the private plots.

We must also properly consider the question of developing associations related to auxiliary farming. It is entirely possible for some enterprises within the conurbation system to build a modern greenhouse, for example, which will supply them with fresh vegetables. The same method could be applied in the production of grain, dairy products, etc.

Let me stress once again that our strategy is based mainly and above all on the development of the public sector everywhere, including agriculture, services and trade. It is precisely in this sector that lasting high productivity is reached and the latest achievements of science and technology are applied. However, it would be erroneous not to use the considerable opportunities offered by the private plots and the additional labor of the population.

The third question deals with the differentiation in wages and income. It is the following: "Could a greater differentiation in wages and income, based on the application of the economic mechanism, create a social inequity which is not inherent in our social system?"

It is true that the new economic approach creates greater conditions for wage and income differentiation. However, this is not due to subjectivism but to the more accurate determination of the quantity and quality of the labor invested in determining the wage.

There are those who fear that such differentiation "will restrain the development of society toward full social homogeneity." I am citing here one of

the questions I was asked. Clearly, this question shows a certain lack of understanding. The creation of social homogeneity is by far not reduced to surmounting income disparities. This process is related to the elimination of the major disparities between town and country and between physical and mental work; it is related to raising the education standard of all population strata, the comprehensive development of the individual, the gradual elimination of interclass and intraclass disparities and so on. In connection with all this our party ascribes great importance to the overall growth of the real population income and the enhancement of the material and cultural standards of the people.

As to the expressed fear that wage and income differentiation may lead to social inequity, the answer is clear: Social inequity may and does appear whenever income differentiation is the result not of real differences in the quality and quantity of invested labor but of a deformation of the socialist distribution principle. By rejecting the need for differentiation we would be adopting the harmful positions of equalization. That is why I would reformulate the question somewhat differently: Is it proper under socialism to pay equal wages and grant equal social status to the loafer and the hard worker, the goldbricker and the conscientious workers? The obvious answer to this question is no!

The socialist society neither is nor could be a society of full social equality, as I already mentioned in my lectures. A wage differentiation under socialism is not only inevitable but is an important lever in achieving high labor and production efficiency and accelerating the pace of our socio-economic development.

In this situation, naturally the question of high income arises. It is time to consider such income from a different viewpoint--whether it is earned or unearned or results from speculative sources. Let me repeat that we must eliminate all barriers on the path of those who work conscientiously, quantitatively and productively. As to those who believe that they could extract profit at the expense of the state and the labor collective, we have adequate means to deal with them--economic, administrative, ideological, and so on--to block their actions. The question is for such means to be applied strictly.

The main thing, however, is to seek new ways for the overall advancement of the system of distribution relations. We need the type of distribution system which will truly guarantee the resulting nature of wages, will accurately reflect labor outlays and will establish proper proportions between working for oneself and for society. Accurate and substantiated ratios are needed also in earnings by sector, area, profession and so on.

Currently the party documents extensively promote the economic encouragement of the socialist working person so that his work may become more productive and more qualitative. This is an entirely accurate approach, for we must make the fullest possible use of any opportunity which triggers in the people a live and direct interest to work with all their strength. However, by formulating so categorically the question of material incentives, we should not underestimate in the least the role and significance of spiritual incentives. The progress of socialism is based on the high conscientiousness of

millions of working people, their feeling of responsibility and discipline and their patriotism. It is also based on the aspiration of the individual to realize his capabilities and professional skills, to assert his individual dignity and reputation through his work and to strengthen through his labor his social status in our society. We have created and are applying an entire system of spiritual incentives. We must acknowledge, however, that we have by far not mastered yet the skill rapidly to update and harmoniously to combine material and moral incentives in life and at work.

What can I add to this?

Under the conditions of the new economic mechanism we must pay even greater attention to the problem of the minimal income, of the size of the living minimum. It is no secret that this problem exists particularly in the case of families with more children and some categories of pensioners. We must not forget that the living minimum is not a fixed but a dynamic value. We must always keep track of and regulate the so-called "income stratification."

Particular attention in this connection should be paid to the question of prices of consumer goods. Why do I raise this question? Because the danger exists here of allowing errors which could undermine both the economic mechanism and our social policy. I have in mind efforts unjustifiably to raise prices of many commodities. Some enterprises and their managers have found an easy way to straighten out their accounts. They increase the prices of commodities and services under the pretext of having improved their quality. Very frequently, however, the "sign" of higher quality consists of nothing more than new packaging or giving a new name to a commodity without any real change in its consumer qualities. Naturally, the prices of such commodities are not raised independently but with the approval of the competent state organs. Let us clearly state that such actions are contrary to party policy. Consequently, this entrusts the bodies engaged in price-setting with particular responsibility.

It would perhaps be expedient to link more closely the price-setting mechanism to the State Plan and, at the same time, to introduce more extensively the state-social principle in price controls. We must also take more efficient steps to protect the interests of the consumer, which have been violated as a result of unjustified increases in prices for goods and services.

I was asked another question as well in connection with the application of the new economic mechanism: "In practical terms, how can we carry out an economic competition among socialist economic organizations and producing, trading, procurement and servicing organizations?"

Recent experience has proved to us that economic competition among socialist organizations can be a powerful incentive for improving production quality, reducing production costs and accelerating scientific and technical progress. Under the conditions of the new economic approach we are trying to implement such competition through the direct clash between the producer and the market, domestic and foreign.

We must create opportunities for extensive competition among different enterprises which manufacture consumer goods. Even within our small country we can create highly specialized technological lines engaged in the production of similar commodities but of different varieties and consumer qualities. Let us add to this enterprises which are not specialized in the production of consumer goods but which could and must engage in such production.

We must develop a direct interest in labor collectives and the personal material interest of specialists and workers to reduce imports by developing domestic production.

At the same time, we must ensure imports of consumer goods, above all from the socialist countries, in order to provide not only greater variety but compete with other countries on the domestic market.

At the same time, we must resolve a number of first-echelon problems in order to procure the necessary raw and other materials for all producers of finished goods.

Briefly, we must take practical steps to stimulate manifestations of flexibility, inventiveness and economic sense in order to guarantee the production of goods needed and sought by the population.

The construction of small and medium-sized enterprises offers exceptionally great opportunities. With their help, within a short period of time we can create a modern base for the efficient production of high-quality goods and for population services and for servicing large production units. Such enterprises will be staffed by 5 to several dozen people; their output will be specialized; they will be equipped with automated technological lines. This approach does not conflict with that of production concentration and specialization but enriches its ways and means.

This will enable us also to resolve a number of problems related to developing the infrastructure of the conurbation systems. Generally speaking, the activities of the conurbation systems must be saturated with social significance, for they are not only administrative but socioeconomic units which must live a rich life.

The saturation of the conurbation systems with a social content and granting them socioeconomic functions is the main purpose of their establishment as an original Bulgarian form of organization and management, in order to identify and make full use of local reserves and resources, efficiently to combine territorial with sectorial principles and the state with the sociostate principle and the development of socialist democracy.

3. On the Motive Forces of Our Development

Comrades:

A particularly important aspect in the activities of the communist party is the formulation of its accurate strategy. This calls for taking strictly

into account the objective complexity and wealth of the actual historical process and its motive forces.

The development of socialism includes various stages and degrees of maturity. "In order strictly to distinguish among stages of different natures and make a sober study of the conditions for crossing them," Lenin pointed out "does not mean in the least to postpone for an indefinite period the end objective. It does not mean in the least the delaying in advance of our own development."* Knowledge of the nature and characteristics of the stages in the development of socialism is of tremendous importance in properly guiding our work and struggle. It protects us both from unnecessary acceleration and unjustified delaying of socialist construction.

When we speak of stages in our development we do not put the building of socialism in some kind of mold in the least. Practical experience proves that the links between the individual degrees of social development are live and dialectical in nature. The same applies to the transition from one stage of socialism to another.

I was asked the following: "Does the stipulation expressed in the first lecture on the victory of socialist production relations toward the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s agree with the stipulation of the 7th BCP Congress (1958) as the congress of victorious socialism?" Yes, it does, for in social development all demarcations are relative and flexible. No rigid laws prevail in this development, unlike what Lassalle imagined. Nor are there fixed borders. We cannot separate with a knife the individual stages in the historical process. A transfusion and reciprocal ties have always existed and will exist in this process.

I believe that this is also an answer to the question "When did our concept of a developed socialist society take shape?"

Any theoretical elaboration which illuminates a new stage in the development of socialism cannot be created in a single day or year. The concept of a developed socialist society is the result of lengthy theoretical and practical work. To one extent or another it was the subject of discussion in a number of party documents which preceded the elaboration of the party's program. Particularly important in this respect are the materials of the July 1968 BCP Central Committee Plenum. However, this does not conflict with the truth that in its overall aspect the concept was presented for the first time precisely in the party program and subsequently developed in the resolutions of the 11th and 12th congresses.

By stressing this I do not consider in the least that our party thought has expressed its final word on the question of developed socialism. Theoretical discoveries in terms of building developed socialism have not ended in our country.

* V. I. Lenin, "Subr. Such." [Collected Works], vol 9, p 122.

We must always keep close track of the real historical course of building socialism. This calls for developing our immediate organization and political work by enriching our knowledge of the internal laws and characteristics of each stage and by creatively developing and applying our great Marxist-Leninist doctrine. We are seeking and will continue to seek new solutions and new ways and means which will make our activities more purposeful and efficient.

In order to achieve this we must provide full scope for the effect of the motive forces of our development and the increasingly full determination and practical application of the unquestionable historical advantages of the socialist social system. Our approach to the identification and elimination of social contradictions which arise in the course of socialist development is of exceptional importance.

I was asked the following: "Do you believe that the contradictions which objectively exist in our social development could threaten the socialist social system?"

Let me recall that 2 years ago, at the traditional meeting with university students on 8 December, I pointed out that there did exist a period during which there were those who denied the existence of social contradictions in the socialist society. The conviction even existed that to speak of contradictions was something terrible and heretical.

When we speak of contradictions in socialism we are guided by the dialectical stipulation that all societies develop through the identification and elimination of social contradictions.

Why? Because the law of unity and struggle of opposites is a universal law of nature, society and human thought. The first phase of the communist social system--socialism--is not the embodiment of inanimate historical canons nor is it the kingdom of absolute harmony. Socialism is a dynamic ascending social organism. But wherever there is progress there are contradictions. Such is the logic of the development of socialism as well. Here again contradictions exist between production forces and production relations and between the base and the superstructure. Contradictions also arise in the development of individual social areas, in relations among them and so on.

For example, when we speak of contradictions in our society we have in mind all contradictions inherited from the past, which socialism, as the first phase of communism, cannot immediately surmount. We have already achieved a great deal in this respect. Suffice it to recall what a great deal was accomplished to surmount the contradiction and, subsequently, the existing disparity between town and country, between mental and physical labor and so on.

Furthermore, our society, which is now in the stage of building mature socialism, is developing dynamically, at a stable and high pace in all areas. This development as well triggers its contradictions and is related to their

identification and resolution. On the other hand, we must not forget that, due to the fact that socialism has won only in one part of the world, it encounters a number of internal as well as external contradictions. By this I mean the contradictions existing between the socialist and capitalist systems.

In most general terms, contradictions in our development are caused by objective and subjective reasons.

Such are the contradictions between the possibilities of the material and technical base and its utilization by the subjective factor; between the interests of the state as the owner and the labor collectives as the manager of socialist property; between centralism and the decentralization in the management of our society; between the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the insufficiently good condition of the organization of labor; and so on. The essential fact is that the nature of these contradictions is not antagonistic.

That is why we are guided and will continue to be guided in our theoretical and practical activities by the concept that contradictions appear and must appear in life, legitimately based on the new social processes and phenomena. They must neither be denied nor ignored. They must be promptly identified, realized and resolved.

The dialectics of social development is merciless. Any oversight or error in the implementation of the planned political line or any underestimating of weaknesses and shortcomings inevitably create favorable circumstances for the energizing of hostile antisocialist forces. This also creates prerequisites for nonantagonistic contradictions to develop in some cases into antagonist clashes within the socialist society.

Essentially two approaches are possible in terms of social contradictions.

With the first, the efforts are concentrated on the elimination of the consequences of the contradiction or reducing its adverse influence. This was the approach adopted by the 12th Party Congress.

Why?

Because we realize that waging a struggle merely for restricting the negative consequences of a contradiction was not enough and that the struggle does not end with their elimination.

The main reason is that in order to struggle against negative consequences without resolving the actual contradictions themselves means merely to eliminate the consequences while retaining the most profound reasons which have caused them.

That is why we applied the other approach: without underestimating even for a moment the efforts to restrict the negative influences of one contradiction or another, we undertook to implement the decisive feature, i.e., to surmount the contradictions themselves which trigger adverse consequences. Further-

more, we realized that not partial measures but an overall comprehensive approach which would cover all of their aspects and actions was needed in order to resolve the contradictions.

What does this mean?

It means above all to expose the contradictions "within the very essence of the objects,"* it means not to circumvene the main contradictions of the socialist society or seek the reasons for this contradiction only in the weaknesses and shortcomings of our development or the vestiges of the past and the influence of capitalism. We are trying to define the contradictions which arise from the very nature of socialism and socialist development and to take steps for their prompt elimination.

Do the contradictions threaten the socialist social system in our country? They do not in the least! Their exposure and elimination is one of the main motive forces of our social development.

However, could they harm us and lower the results of our efforts unless identified and surmounted on time? Yes, they could.

That is why our party not only notes the existence of such contradictions but does not allow them to rot, to become a source of social distortions and upheavals.

This approach is a historical gain and an exceptionally great manifestation of April Bulgaria. In the future as well it will be necessary to enhance the creative role of subjective factor and to strengthen its ability accurately to interpret the new processes and phenomena and promptly to expose arising contradictions and to mobilize the working people for their elimination.

When we speak of an approach to social contradictions we must note that criticism and self-criticism are a major motive force in our development.

Marx stressed that unlike all previous revolutions, the proletarian revolution continuously criticizes itself. It can be said that because of their nature the socialist social system and the BCP, as the guiding and leading force in our country, cannot develop without criticism and self-criticism.

The historical experience of our party, the CPSU and the international communist and worker movements unequivocally proves that criticism and self-criticism is a necessary and efficient means of promptly identifying developing problems, reassessing obsolete forms and mechanisms of social life and struggling against deviations from socialist norms. They create conditions for surmounting the old and open the way to the new in the strengthening and development of the party and the building and advancement of socialism.

The socialist society cannot renovate itself without self-criticism. The extent of criticism and self-criticism is a criterion of its maturity.

* V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 29, p 227.

Regardless of the successes which have been achieved, the party does not close its eyes to difficulties and weaknesses. It engages in a sober and self-critical appraisal of its work and of the activities of the entire society. Our party's reaction is particularly sharp and intolerant when the rights and interests of the working person are infringed. We know that concern for the person in socialist Bulgaria has reached a level conceivable only under our system. The vital problems of the Bulgarian citizen and his present and future are resolved in accordance with the principles of socialism. However, in a number of cases the citizens are not adequately protected; their interests are unfairly violated; they are harmed and subjected to gratuitous denigration and insults by individual bureaucrats and upstart officials.

These weaknesses are due to unsuccessful premature decisions inconsistent with objective conditions and, consequently, to an erroneous workstyle and method on the part of subjective factors, of individual instances. We have never been nor intend to remain indifferent toward them.

Naturally, we know that our enemies make use of our self-criticism in order to cast aspersions on the socialist system. However, we are guided not by whether or not our enemies will benefit or not from our self-criticism. We are guided by the need to ensure in all sectors of social life the proper implementation of the party's political line in building developed socialism in our country.

That is why I would like to reemphasize that criticism and self-criticism are the motive force of our progress. Management, regardless of its level, which has failed to master this great tool, this great force, cannot achieve great and lasting results in building the new social system.

We now have the task of making much fuller use of the energy and creativity of the people's masses in the implementation of the party's strategy. In order to achieve this we must expand political democracy. We must make even better use of the great opportunities existing for the development of democracy, contained in the Leninist principle of democratic centralism and the proper combination of centralism with democratism.

We favor the true development of political democracy, for we are guided by Lenin's view that socialism is not created by ukase "from above" but is the cause of the people's masses guided by the communist party, the objective of their social and political creativity.

I was asked the following question: "Most generally speaking, how is the new manifested in the political activeness of the masses and the individual, based on the application of the economic approach and its mechanism?"

Let me stress above all that in its activities for the further development of political democracy our party is guided by the Marxist-Leninist concept of the dialectical interdependence between politics and economics.

Under the conditions of real socialism politics is the main lever for purposefully influencing all social processes. It is the principal means of

realizing the economic interests of society and the state, the labor collective and the individual.

That is precisely why we focused our attention on the development of the economic foundations of political democracy. We thus strive to energize the feedback which the political superstructure applies on our overall social development in order to reach a new level of activeness of the people's masses, the labor collectives and the individual.

We know that economic conditions which create and determine the direct interest of the economic organizations, labor collectives and individual working people in the development of socialist production, the management of socialist property and the enhancement of public labor productivity are being created ubiquitously. The economic mechanism brings into action a set of measures and norms through which we encourage the economic initiative of the economic units and strengthen their interest in the conservation of energy, raw materials, materials and others.

Life proves that setting production and the other social areas on a consistent economic foundation objectively leads to an upsurge in political democracy. Today every citizen is becoming inevitably and naturally politically aware. He shows lively interest and cannot fail to do so in events in his brigade and enterprise, in the country, in the development of the national economy and in society at large.

That is precisely why we have set ourselves the specific task of expanding even more energetically and purposefully the rights of the working person and the primary collectives.

Metaphorically speaking, the application of the new economic approach will shift even more decisively the center of gravity from the top to the base of the social pyramid. Why? Because this approach can be fully applied by politically strengthening the primary units of our society--the labor collective, the economic organization and the settlement. Consequently, today the question is directly to interest and involve in economic management and social and cultural processes and in building socialism the millions of people in our country. That is because in our country political democracy has any value if it multiplies the possibilities of public labor, develops the individual activeness of the people in production management and provides a scope for the activities of labor collectives and their members to the benefit of society and their own.

Comrades:

The answers to the questions discussed in the final lecture do not exhaust the wealth of problems and tasks which our party and working people are resolving in their daily work. However, as I cautioned at the very beginning, it was not my purpose to cover all aspects of building socialism. On the other hand, I do not think in the least that such lectures could replace our scientific front and, particularly, scientific research in the social sciences. I want to emphasize that my lectures are based on the collective

party thinking which is shaped and developed on the basis of the achievements of philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, sociology, psychology, the theory of management and so on and so forth.

They are also a manifestation of the aspiration and the efforts of the BCP to take ever more fully into consideration the objective laws of our social development. Our country has now entered a decisive period in building mature socialism. Qualitatively new problems must be resolved by the party and the entire people. The historical significance of the 12th Party Congress is that it essentially laid the beginning of a new stage in the further elaboration and implementation of the April general line. The time since the congress was one of stressed creative theoretical work in shaping an overall vision of the basic problems and practical approaches in our activities on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and with the help of its dialectical-materialistic method.

It is a question of ideas and elaborations not of a current but of long-lasting and strategic significance which will shed light on our path for many years in the future. In order for them to become a material force, as we are taught by the classics of our doctrine, they must be realized, interpreted and mastered by cadres, the party members, our youth and all working people. We cannot be on the level of the current historical responsibility unless we develop our practical actions and give further scope to theoretical thinking precisely in accordance with these ideas and elaborations which, as I already noted, represent the creative development and application of Marxism-Leninism to specific Bulgarian conditions.

Both as a classical heritage and contemporary development, Marxism-Leninism is a single entity. Why? Because in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin the basic concepts, the philosophy of dialectical materialism, political economy and scientific communism are developed and used simultaneously in interpreting historical processes and the main tasks of the international communist and worker movements. Marxism-Leninism is based on the problem-theoretical approach, i.e., the same approach we find in the documents of our party's 12th Congress and in our study of the new processes of building mature socialism in the country.

Our theory is an effective and dynamic one. It is developing and enriching in accordance with changes in social practice and in the global revolutionary process. However, this is no haphazard development but a development based on the rich and permanent classical legacy, i.e., through the preservation and enrichment of fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. That is precisely why the nucleus of Marxist-Leninist cadre training today is and must be the study of the works of the classics, inseparably tied to the current developments related to contemporary social progress as found in the documents of our party, the CPSU, the other fraternal parties and the documents collectively formulated by the international communist and worker movements. Obviously, that same approach must be applied in the study and mastery of the further problems of building socialism.

I would like to point out, however, that as they have in the past, the successful development of collective party thinking and our science will continue to depend on the ability to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively, in

accordance with specific Bulgarian reality, an ability crystallized in the party's April general line.

In my previous lectures I considered individual aspects of this line. At this point I would like to deal essentially with the question of the sources of its strength and vitality.

The 12th Party Congress defined the April general line, which has been the base of our social development since 1956, as Marxism-Leninism in action, as unity and interaction between the creatively developing theory of scientific socialism and our specific sociohistorical practices.

In the course of its work and struggle for the formulation and implementation of the April line, the Bulgarian Communist Party grew up as a party of creative Marxism-Leninism.

In my view, the main thing is that the April line is being steadfastly and systematically developed on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and the universal practice of socialism.

This is also a line of development of the specific revolutionary experience of the BCP, achieved under the leadership of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov and our theoretical and practical experience in building socialism.

The April line is a strategy of a manual for action. It outlines the high road of building mature socialism and gradual transition to communism in Bulgaria.

What are the main sources of its strength and viability?

First of all, the April line is consistent with the basic requirements of our social development and the main interests and aspirations of the working class and the entire Bulgarian people.

In the past Lenin advised the Russian social democrats to stand on the grounds of reality rather than the desired social development. Socialism and the April policy are not accidental events. They are needs stemming from the objective course of historical development of Bulgarian society. In elaborating and implementing its April policy, the BCP relies on the objective processes and trends in the life of the people and the objective needs of our society. That is why one of the prime sources of the strength and viability of the April line is found in the party's ability to seek and find scientific decisions of tremendous practical importance in terms of our progress.

Secondly, the April line is based on the concept of the active creative role of the broadest possible popular masses in the historical process.

The basic feature of our April policy is to define the possibilities and ensure the practical manifestation of the initiative and constructive strength of millions of people. Looking at the past we see how the interest of the people in making their work productive and happy both for themselves

and for the sake of the entire society has been growing steadily. It is a question of millions, I emphasize millions of people for, let us recall Lenin's words again, real policy is exercised where there are millions rather than thousands of people. During that period the socialist attitude of the individual toward the quantity and quality of his labor developed and strengthened. The desire of the working class and the working people to become more educated and engage in most direct participation in the implementation of social projects increased. The people in town and country are far more interested in the life in their settlements. The incentives of the intelligentsia to create and to aspire to national and international recognition of its achievements has greatly increased, and so on and so forth.

Our party relies on the people, on the individual, on their active role and constructive power. Without the people, without the person socialist Bulgaria would be unable to achieve its successes and its further development would be impossible as well.

Thirdly, the April line of the BCP--I reemphasize--is a line of creative approach to the overall laws of building socialism.

In accordance with the requirements of these laws our party found the specific ways and means to ensure the victory of socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the country. Under the party's leadership the working class, allied to the toiling peasants and the progressive intelligentsia, established and strengthened its political power in the form of a people's democracy. The Bulgarian Agrarian National Union is actively participating in the country's administration. The socialist reorganization of agriculture took place without the nationalization of the land, through the creation of labor cooperative farms. The establishment of agroindustrial complexes enhanced the level of socialization of productive capital in agriculture and accelerated the application of industrial methods in this sector. This created new prerequisites for the elimination of the major disparities between town and country. The sociostate and state-social principles are an important element in the development of socialist democracy. We elaborated and undertook the application of the new economic approach and its mechanism, which takes into consideration the objective effect of commodity-monetary relations under socialism and their specific manifestation in our country. We elaborated and are applying the stipulation of the owner and manager of socialist property. We could point out many other specific aspects of the revolution and the process of socialist building which we consider a contribution to the enrichment of Bulgarian party thinking and the theory and practice of scientific communism.

Fourth, the April line is based on the rich international experience developed in the course of building socialism.

Our party has never shown any national arrogance or scorn toward the achievements of the other fraternal parties and countries. Furthermore, we have always considered it our greatest historical luck the possibility of following the example set by the CPSU and the USSR and to learn from the experience of the socialist states. Naturally, it is a question of a Leninist attitude

toward international experience, which does not mechanically duplicate but creatively combines the common with the specific and the national with the international in building a socialist social system.

Fifth, the April line relies on the latest achievements of Marxist-Leninist thinking and on the principle that the party operates on the level of such thinking.

The BCP devotes a great deal of concern for the development and advancement of the scientific base of its political and organizational work. We are making constant efforts for science to be our daily companion in our practical activities. That is why we are doing everything possible for the development of science and scientific research in Bulgaria and for the utilization of scientific achievements and methods in the work of party, state, public and other organs and organizations.

Sixth, the April line embodies the unity of theory and practice. We have always been guided by the idea of the real complexity and contradictoriness of social practice and the need steadily to identify the inner sources of social changes and to discover and theoretically interpret the prospects and trends of our development in individual areas as well as in the public body as a whole and to earmark specific practical approaches to the solution of ripe problems.

These are the main sources of the strength and viability of the April general line and the main sources of its accuracy.

If we say that the April line is accurate our approach to it must be historical. We must consider it in its dynamics and development. The following must be clear from this viewpoint: Our path has not followed exclusively the crest of successes. We have had weaknesses and shortcomings and made a number of mistakes. The main weakness which I would like to emphasize is that we have not always sufficiently heeded the effect of the objective laws, and that to one extent or another and in some cases we have had to struggle against the consequences of this fact. In our practical work we have not always fully determined the requirements of these laws and have not always systematically developed our activities accordingly. We have had to pay for this, for we have frequently suffered losses and adverse consequences.

It is no secret, for example, that in some areas of our state and economic organization centralism is excessive and democratic centralism is violated. Clearly, we do not realize sufficiently well the fact that the violation of democratic centralism leads to violating the principle of the role of the people's masses in history.

As I already stressed, we are struggling against the weaknesses in labor discipline, theft, crime and other negative phenomena. This struggle, however, has not always been on a level sufficiently high to enable us to determine the reasons which have brought about such phenomena and to take steps for their elimination.

Yes, we must clearly realize our past errors and erroneous work methods, and obsolete ways and means of activities. We can advance only by getting rid of what weighs upon us, what hinders us. In this respect, as in everything else, we must continue to learn from Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Let me recall at this point a crucial moment in the history of the first socialist state and the CPSU, related to Lenin's genius and his great ability to see soberly weaknesses and shortcomings and obsolete means and methods of work, and his organizational ability to create conditions for their elimination.

I am referring to the transition from war communism to the so-called new economic policy--the NEP. Lenin assessed the policy of war communism as a necessity but, at the same time, he promptly realized that this policy had outlived its role and, under the conditions of a civil war nearing its end, was creating difficulties and would lead to adverse consequences for the party and the socialist state. He frankly stated that economic policy "at the top appears to be separated from the bottom," and that the expected upsurge of production forces is not taking place.

With his typical depth of thought Lenin realized that revolutionary enthusiasm alone would no longer be sufficient for progress and that this required, as he said himself, a new economic link between the working class and the peasantry and between the socialist society and its working people. That is why he concentrated on a policy which would ensure "the tie through the economy," which, in his view, was the only way with which "the work of the peasant and the work of the worker" would be "work for themselves,"* and that "the entire masses would truly move alongside us"** forward.

Lenin emphasized cost accounting and "personal incentive" as factors for increasing output, worker bonuses, concern for the development and encouragement of local trade and cooperatives and the interest of the peasants in improving farming; he emphasized reliance on the ability of specialists, leases and concessions granted to foreign companies and so on. Under those circumstances, he paid particular attention to encouraging the autonomy and independent activities of the local organs as a means of reducing bureaucracy, encouraging production and improving the situation of workers and peasants. Lenin said that "Nothing could be more wrong than confusing democratic centralism with bureaucracy and stereotype. Our task now is precisely to promote democratic centralism in the economy...centralism which, conceived in a truly democratic sense, presumes the opportunity created for the first time in history for the full and unhindered development not only of local features but local initiative and understanding, a variety of means, ways and methods for advancing toward the common objective.***

This great example is profoundly instructive to us and in terms of our further economic, political and social work.

* V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 44, p 299.

** Ibid., vol 45, p 82.

*** Ibid., vol 36, pp 141-142

At its 12th Congress our party developed the stipulation of the state as the owner and the labor collective as the manager of socialist property which, as I already pointed out, is the main practical way along which social relations are currently advancing.

We had in mind the need to reach a qualitatively new level of incentive of individuals and labor collectives in terms of their work and a qualitatively new standard of labor activeness and initiative. It was clear to us that we could no longer be satisfied with a system of material incentives which encouraged the people to work for the sake of living adequately; we had to create a base of motivation which would mold the desire for creative toil, for labor in which everyone individually and the collective as a whole would work with pleasure, with full mobilization of forces, with organized and stimulating self-control. In other words, in order to advance confidently and faster, under the conditions of building developed socialism we must create a "new economic tie" between society and the working people. We must link the participation of labor collectives and individuals with production and their attitude toward productive capital with the help of economic levers and incentives.

I believe that in terms of the main features of this philosophy we are on the right track and that we are accurately observing the lessons stemming from Lenin's thoughts and works. Along this way we are relying more extensively and firmly on the interest of the masses. As their vanguard, we are advancing with them and opening new horizons for their role in our social life and relying more fully and effectively on the principle of democratic centralism.

That is why the stipulation of the state as the owner and the labor collective as the manager is a radical problem for us, the most important problem in our further development. It is through it and its implementation that we ensure the effect and efficient utilization of all other laws governing the building of mature socialism in our country. Why?

We cannot make a scientific and technical revolution unless we interest every labor collective in participating in it, and unless we involve in its accomplishments and their utilization every working person.

We cannot make efficient use of the law of value, commodity-monetary relations and the socialist principle of payment based on the quantity and quality of labor unless we create conditions for their full effect within each labor collective and unless we fully apply them in the labor activeness of every individual.

We cannot achieve a further development of socialist democracy unless we ensure new rights and possibilities and a new real material force of the labor collective--the main unit in our social life.

The stipulation of the state as the owner and the labor collective as the manager affects the entire political system and will bring about the overall advancement of our socialist superstructure and its organization and mechanism.

Life has shown, however, that a considerable distance exists from a proper solution to its application. In Lenin's words, "the current party knowledge and party awareness* still lack the necessary maturity for the practical implementation of the stipulation of the state as the owner and the labor collective as the manager. In a number of cases we are not looking for its specific and creative implementation; the activeness of the organs and individuals who determine its direct implementation in the various sectors and levels of our socioeconomic system is insufficient.

It is true that in some cases this concept meets with opposition. Usually such a position comes from individuals, from real social forces which have become accustomed to obsolete structures and work methods. Some of the opposition is also due to the apprehension of having individual interests damaged. We must take all of this into consideration. Unquestionably, the introduction of a new factor demands extensive educational work and an attentive attitude toward cadres. At the same time, however, it is necessary to make changes in the people and, sometimes, to the people.

In this connection, let me emphasize that the strength of the April line also lies in the ability of our party to adopt a self-critical attitude toward its work, firmly to eliminate weaknesses and shortcomings in its life and lead the entire people, the entire society into an irreconcilable struggle against weaknesses and shortcomings. This ability is a priceless accomplishment of the April line.

Therefore, we can sum up the general April line of the BCP as follows: it is a line based on the needs and interests of the people; a line based on the constructive force of the toiling masses; a line governed by the common principles and laws of building socialism and which is consistent with our national historical specifics; a line which creatively masters international and domestic experience; a line which is steadily developed and enriched on the basis of the latest scientific achievements; a line which can eliminate its weaknesses and shortcomings. It is a strong, a viable line. It is our historical duty and prime task to advance and enrich this line in order to take Bulgarian society to the approaches to communism.

By building developed socialism we are creating the material and spiritual prerequisites for the richer and happier life of future generations. It will depend on us, on our inspiration and daring, on our minds, hands and collective will, and on the inspiration and daring of our sons and grandsons for Bulgaria's next century to be a century of building communism.

* Ibid., vol 44, p 187.

HUNGARY

'NEW' MOZGO VILAG EXAMINES LIVES OF CONSPICUOUSLY WEALTHY

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian Jan-Feb 84 pp 34-52

[Article by Katalin Mogyoro: "The Poor Rich"]

[Text] "I wonder how can they afford it." With the exception of the happy owners there is hardly any Hungarian citizen who, looking at the growing number of luxurious homes and expensive cars, would not have uttered this sentence with a sigh. Many people seem to know the answer to this question: in present-day Hungary that amount of money which makes it possible to acquire those showy assets can only be obtained by dishonest means. The existence of a small, though growing, group of people who are enjoying such conspicuously high standards of living irritates the many others--who would not notice it--who are living on their wages and salaries. Moreover, during the last 2 or 3 years an additional motive for grudges has arisen since the bulk of the population had to put up with just maintaining its standard of living as the best option.

The sources of the domestic millions has been made particularly mysterious by the fact that thus far little has been disclosed in public concerning the existence of this conspicuous wealth. The doubts about it have hardly been cleared by either scientific, political or journalistic methods. At present there is not even a proper designation for those whose standards of living are the highest since the terms "rich man" or "millionaire" are not apt for this because of their social and historic associations. The scholars of the MSZMP's Socialological Institute called, only for internal use, "rich man inquiry" their studies which have been prepared in the framework of the current large-scale structure-research concerning the wealthiest Hungarian citizens.

As a professional journalist and free-lance researcher, I got the interesting and exciting task of carrying out a study about the well-to-do Budapest inhabitants. My freedom of research entailed that I was allowed to select the places at which and the ways by which I would find them and secure such information about them as had statistical value.

In view of my lack of source materials, my point of departure was the generally accepted opinion that the most elegant addresses are to be found in the Rozsadomb and Pasaret neighborhoods. I, therefore, assumed that if

someone can afford it he will try to establish his home in these neighborhoods. Such a decision, however, can only be carried out--in view of the very high real estate prices--if the person in question has an outstanding financial position. On the basis of these considerations, I thought I would find the wealthiest citizens of Budapest in Borough No 2.

It was more difficult to define who is really a rich man in Hungary. In the beginning, along with the directors of structure researches, I thought that there did exist the phantom millionaire who alarms public opinion and who can afford, in addition to the luxurious homes and expensive cars, also to travel to overseas resort places, to entertain in the night clubs of five-star hotels and to buy jewelry and exquisite furs for hundreds of thousands of forints. But at the very outset of my research I had to draw the conclusion that the Hungarian millionaire of the 1980s is a specific "socialist" character who cannot be compared with the rich people of the capitalist countries. Since in our country nobody can own a factory, a large landed estate or a fleet of ships, since the size of such assets is restricted by law and even the purchase of other requisites of wealth, such as a Mercedes car or a yacht, is limited by the practical possibilities, our citizens whose standards of living appear to be conspicuously high, would belong at best to the upper middle class in the other social system.

I started the collection of research materials by studying the income tax rolls of the local council in Borough No 2. I was, of course, not interested in the income and property of one or the other individual but rather in learning what kind of trades, ages and social backgrounds are prevailing among the most privileged. Moreover, I was able to find out the maximum amount that people can legally earn in a year and how much of it they can spend after taxes, which were until 1 January 1984 very progressive.

According to the 1980 and 1981 tax rolls, only 44 persons of that borough which has 107,000 inhabitants had a gross income in excess of 300,000 forints.

The number of taxpayers:	1,5300	
From them:	craftsmen:	831 (1981)
	white collar workers	621 (1980)
	shopkeepers	78 (1980)
Earned more than 300,000 forints		44 (gross income)
From them:	craftsmen	22
	white collar workers	22
300,000 to 400,000 forints:	11 craftmen	
	6 performing artists	
	2 writer, serious musician	
	1 heir to author's royalty	
400,000 to 500,000 forints:	5 writers, serious musicians	
	4 craftsmen	
	1 performing artist	
	1 heir to author's royalty	
500,000 to 600,000 forints:	4 craftsmen	
	1 heir to author's royalty	
600,000 to 700,000 forints:	1 composer of dance music	

700,000 to 800,000 forints:	1 performing artist
	1 writer
	1 composer of dance music
800,000 to 900,000 forints:	1 author of lyrics of dance songs
	1 craftsman
Over 1 million forints:	2 craftsmen

The record was the income of one mason, i.e., 1.36 million forints. But he had to pay 890,000 forints in taxes, leaving him approximately 40,000 forints spending money per month.

We come across similar figures when studying the income of outstanding people with intellectual professions and performing artists. In my studies of the tax rolls of these categories, I found one single case of an income reaching 1 million forints. This was the earning of an elderly author of dance song lyrics who is rated as outstanding in his profession. Otherwise the income of the best known creative intellectuals fluctuates between 700,000 and 800,000 forints. The term "best known" should in this case be taken literally since only a prestigious and aging literary author and an equally famous and elderly orchestra conductor could regularly earn these amounts.

Since the taxes of creative intellectuals and performing artists were--until the amendments introduced recently--lower than those of craftsmen, these people had a monthly net of about 30,000 to 40,000 forints, despite their lower yearly income.

For example, a famous writer paid only 290,000 forints in taxes on his income of 700,000.

By the way, the study of the income of intellectuals and performing artists brought many surprises. In contrast with the widespread belief that the authors of trash literature, impostors and swindlers have the highest income, the top earnings on the tax rolls belong to those who are highly rated by both intelligent public opinion and official recognition. It is also clear that age and income are quite closely related. The "great old men" of certain professions are miles ahead of their younger colleagues.

The tax rolls of the local councils record, as a matter of course, only the income earned outside of the regular place of work. In some cases, this represents the entire income (writers, creative artists, singers of dance songs), in other cases, it is an additional income to the salary earned at the main occupation (journalists, researchers, experts, readers of manuscripts, engineers). It is worthwhile to watch this since there are many persons in Borough No 2 (professors, academicians, directors of institutions, editors in chief), whose regular income, which often largely exceeds 10,000 forints per month, gets increased to 30,000-40,000 forints by the extra earnings which frequently amount to 100,000-200,000 forints per year.

Most taxpayers have less than 150,000 forints yearly income. Most craftsmen, shopkeepers and representatives of a great variety of intellectual occupations belong to this category. In view of the fact that the bulk of the

income of the latter is derived from expertise, reading of manuscripts, editing and book writing, people exercising such professions as chemistry, physics, engineering and journalism have a marked advantage.

On the other hand, there are professions whose members have a unique situation from the point of view of taxes. For example, at the time of my inquiry there were no lawyers on the income tax rolls. But since many of them have luxurious homes and expensive cars, they are likely to earn a monthly 30,000-40,000 forints. By the way, neither lawyers nor doctors have to pay taxes on the gratuity. It is noteworthy that although many well-known physicians have private practices in the borough, not even the most successful of them have more than 95,000 forints as a yearly income. But this amount is also a result of the estimate of the income tax authorities who usually triple or quadruple the income return of the doctors. Since the fees collected for a medical examination or treatment fluctuate between 300 and 500 forints, it is mysterious why the physicians of the borough are earning so little. The language teachers are also missing from the tax rolls although the best of them are asking 150 forints for a lesson. As a result of the establishment of language teacher collectivities also, this trade may acquire more legality. Yet their income will not be known before the middle of 1984, when the 1983 tax rolls will become available. Creative artists and artist craftsmen belong to the lowest income group of the creative intelligentsia. None of them reached a yearly income of 150,000 forints in the year of my scrutiny. The credibility of this record is put in doubt by the fact that I happened to find a creative handicraft artist who lives in a villa worth several million forints. Conspicuously low is also the "private income" of designers--an average of 11,000 forints per year--which is all the more strange since a considerable part of the valuable real estate of the borough might have been planned by the designers living in them.

It is also worthwhile to talk about the actors. An aging actor, bearer of the Kossuth prize, may allegedly earn a maximum salary of 10,000 forints per month. Moreover, additional incomes are significant in this profession. The elderly in this profession are also ahead of their younger counterparts. In some cases this is almost not understandable. One or another famous actor hardly performs in public, he seems to be retired, and yet he earns 300,000 forints per year. The younger successful actors in their thirties, who have many roles, have an average income of 150,000-200,000 forints per year. The explanation may lie in the fact that perhaps roles entailing great publicity are less profitable than performances of other types. Despite this peculiarity, performing arts are the only professional category in which young people can achieve high income and can earn the price of a condominium in Borough No 2. This applies, of course, not only to the actors, but also to the singers of dance music, pianists, members of pop music bands, and radio and TV announcers.

It flows from the particular status of Borough No 2 that there are here much more intellectuals than in the other areas of the capital. Of 107,000 inhabitants, 22,000 have a college degree. (This is more than 20 percent, while the Budapest average is 11 percent). The composition of this borough's population explains why the college-educated are in the majority among those

whom the tax rolls register as well-to-do (owners of luxurious villas and expensive cars). The picture is somewhat distorted by the fact that craftsmen and small-traders have no interest in buying valuable assets in their own names, since they are liable with their entire property for taxes. Only a few elderly craftsmen and shopkeepers are allowing themselves to live "openly" in luxury.

The bulk of the owners of real estates of great value are those who pay high income taxes. These are: famous writers, composers, actors, conductors of orchestra, pianists, singers, creative artists and from other intellectual professions primarily doctors, lawyers, journalists, engineers, chemists and physicists. In view of the fact that they are almost without exception aging people, who have passed the midpoint of their career, the basis of their wealth might well be their savings over the last decades. However, except for the highest income earners, they all needed a lot of luck and perhaps also some chicanery to join the group of the wealthiest.

I talked with a few of them and reached the conclusion that the advantages of the past still haunt the present. Or that the contrary is also true. Those whose families were poor before the liberation [1945] had little chance to accumulate wealth during the last decades.

Only a small fraction of my interviewees were children of poor parents, and also in their cases exceptional circumstances (long missions abroad, great artistic talent, etc) have made the rising from poverty possible. Despite the large-scale nationalizations, many families were able to save assets of great value. In most cases, the family in a larger sense entered into a defensive alliance in order to keep at bay such state interventions as would have hurt them. They usually ignored those regulations which undercut the accumulation of wealth.

The father of one of the richest and most prestigious craftsmen of Borough No 2 was owner of an industrial enterprise. After the nationalization, my interviewee had no other choice but to take a job in a state enterprise, since he could not get a trade license. Yet after a while he persuaded the former employees of his father to apply for a license. He then could become their employee. The apportionment of the tasks was as it had been before. The son of the former entrepreneur organized the work and canvassed through his connections for orders, while the others did the manual work. He made himself independent at the first opportunity, but turned in or suspended his license at every instance when he entered into conflict with the tax authorities. But even in such cases he did not suffer financially since he then occupied a position in the enterprise or it's sister who kept the family business going on her own right as a widow. The craftsman in question now lives at Pasaret in a beautiful villa. Valuable paintings, inlaid furniture and expensive china attest to his wealth. By his own account, he has an unmatched advantage over his counterparts in the trade because, aside from his clientele of many decades, he has enough money to buy and store expensive imported raw materials.

The grocer who lives in Pasaret comes from a well-to-do rural family. After the liberation he moved, together with his parents, brothers and sisters, to

Budapest. They bought houses at Pesterzsebet and started businesses that were forbidden then. For example, they purchased the entire walnut crop of a village and sold it with such a profit that they could buy another house with the proceeds. They sold sauerkraut to the workers within the factories and entered into contracts for pig fattening, although this was banned in that area. The grocer had to turn in his license for a while. He then found employment in a firm which worked on the installation of refrigerators, that counted as a novelty in that time. He undertook, as a special service, to deliver and install these appliances in the evening hours. He was, therefore, denounced and jailed for a short time. He thinks that the villa that he then bought in Pasaret was the cause of people's jealousy of him. By the way, the acquisition of that house also required a great deal of drive, for it was owned by a foreigner and inhabited by various tenants. He got access to it only at the price of a series of lawsuits.

In addition to the advantageous birth and a few minor or major breaches of law, my interviewees have usually benefitted from other kinds of lucky strikes. The lawyer in his forties, for example, was an outstanding athlete in his youth and thus obtained his first apartment from the local council. He then purchased an occupied one-family home with the help of his heritage.

His skill as a lawyer helped him expel the tenants by means of lawsuits. Later he bought a plot of land on Rozsadomb which was under a building ban. The owner wanted to get rid of it and sold it cheap. But the lawyer already knew that the building restrictions would soon be lifted. He then built a new house on the plot with the proceeds of the sale of the house that he had acquired in the way described above. At the time of our conversation, he had sold that spacious house too. Insofar as his next step was concerned, he seemed to be reticent to speak about it. He also has a summer cottage, the land of which he acquired when the local council sold the area in lots. He got hold of his luxurious car through his connections, when the state authorities had to sell their Mercedes. He got it for 230,000 forints, while its free market price might have been at least 400,000.

About the elderly doctor who lives in a villa on Rozsadomb, one would speculate that he built his home with the help of his gratuity. Yet the basis for its purchase was set by the heritage of his wife, who is from a well-to-do family. To this the physician in question added his income from a mission abroad. He had access to his Western car because he is the family practitioner of an influential personality. He also got it with the help of the latter at the time when the state automobiles had to be sold.

The creative artist and handicraftsman, who is from a rural peasant family, lives in an elegant villa. He acquired it after 20 years of hard work, since he had no help at all from his family. He became a renowned artist craftsman on his own talent. Later, however, he turned to painting. If he had pursued his creative work alone, he could never have become rich, he frankly admits. But his skillful wife (who, however, has no academic degree) now produces, on his behalf, the pieces of fine craftsmanship in series.

In the case of some of my interviewees, it has mattered a good deal that, because of their favorable birth, they had the means to obtain a diploma and

learn foreign languages before the liberation. One of the best examples for this is the retired deputy general manager of a foreign trade enterprise, whose father was a ranking military officer in the 1910's. Because of the role he played in the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic he was sent into retirement, yet his pension was largely sufficient to give his son a college education and to teach him foreign languages. After the liberation, he was a young man whose cadre report was favorable and at the same time a college educated and cultured person. He owed his knowledge of languages to the fact that he could participate, even in the 1950s, in various official missions abroad. On his trips, he bought professional books and increased his expertise. After having served in various leading positions he was transferred from industry to foreign trade and spent 5 years abroad. He then purchased two Western automobiles, one for himself and one for his son. His apartment, which he got as a reward from his company, is a luxurious municipal facility and it is full of items purchased in the West.

As this example also shows, one of the main sources of wealth may be earnings abroad. The financial situation of some of my interviewees was advanced by long-term missions and regular trips to foreign countries. Yet foreign service was earlier a much better "business" than nowadays. For earlier it was possible to save in 5 years of service abroad enough money to buy both a condominium and a car. At present, the savings do not cover usually more than the prices of a car, household appliances and telecommunication devices. It turns out from the tax rolls that many foreign service officers are selling their expensive cars a few months after their homecoming. This may have two motives. One that they bought it a priori with the intention to sell it at a profit, and the other that their salary at home does not suffice to maintain the car. I also found out during these conversations that those who have kept their cars, the running of which entails great expense, cannot use them except on weekends.

Only a few of my interviewees are living in homes worth millions of forints. Those who I have selected because of their high income or luxurious car, rather than their home, are living in spacious municipal apartments which meet every requirement. Some of these apartments have been allotted by enterprises or institutions and are very well located, for example, on the banks of the Danube, on Rozsadbomb, etc. They are of higher quality than the private apartments of the same neighborhood. I saw one case in which the apartments built on one of the floors of an official institution formed part of the original project of the building. The dimensions and equipment of these apartments are luxurious in accordance with the ranks of the inhabitants. Besides, every interview confirmed--though they were made before the new decree concerning rents entered into force--that the municipal apartments have great prestige. Those who got hold of such an apartment, do not try to buy a condominium. If I consider the apartments allotted by the municipal council as valuable assets, then in Borough No 2, where the standard of apartments is very good, there are almost incredibly many rich families.

Most of my interviewees have a car. The owners of very valuable real estate have usually a modest, old automobile. Most of the owners of luxurious cars are living in municipal apartments. This is, however, only an apparent

contradiction. The acquisition, growth and maintenance of valuable real estate requires a thrifty and accumulative way of life, it entails a great deal of austerity. And obviously a person whose housing problem has been solved free of charge or cheaply, let us say with the help of his employer, will more willingly decide to buy an expensive car.

In Hungary, only a very restricted group of people can afford to possess both a luxurious home and an expensive car. Leading artists, prominent creators, high-ranking civil servants, a fraction of the craftsmen and small traders, and the representatives of a few speculative business occupations can claim to own--generally at the end of their career--both these features of prosperity.

Most middle-class people, who earn less than the leading personalities, but are still well-to-do, do not travel abroad, do not dress up fashionably and I could not trace any partygoing among them. Many of them are self-consuming in work, in order to maintain the standards achieved. Thus it is no wonder that those who are considered rich by their environment do not regard themselves as such. None of the interviewed felt that his standard of living was better than simply "good middle-class."

One of the most characteristic embodiments of these "poor rich" is a development technocrat in his fifties, who works in an enterprise of great prestige but which was in deficit in recent years. Taking into account his professional achievements and age, his salary is very low, a little more than 6,000 forints per month. In the 1950's, my interviewee was a renowned innovator. With the fee he received for one of his inventions (it was 7,000 forints, a large sum in that time) he bought a plot on Rozsadomb. He built a villa on it with the help of his family heritage and his father-in-law, who is a mason. The engineer in question has worked out innovations regularly since then, but during the last 15 years his ideas have not been utilized. In his opinion, the explanation of this is that his managers prefer to buy foreign licenses since they thereby have pretexts for trips abroad. He considers his low salary as a sign that his activities are underrated. Because of his firm's poor business situation he usually does not get any supplementary income. He has a family of four, his wife earns even much less. With the money they earn they would not be able to maintain the house in good shape. Allegedly, therefore, they have been letting out two rooms of it to the IBUSZ [Hungarian Tourist Agency] over quite a long time. (At the time of my visit I had the feeling that the entire villa was inhabited by foreigners and the family found a modest abode somewhere else. I was seated in a room which was also rented by tourists). According to the engineer, the careers of their children was undercut by the renting of the rooms. For his wife's time was so much taken by attending to the guests that she had no time to care about the children's studies. My interviewee's desire is now that his son, who is being trained as a cook, become owner of a restaurant. They do not regularly use their Wartburg car and the engineer travels 3 hours a day to and from his office which is in a faraway part of the city. In his leisure time, he produces vegetables in the garden of his villa.

The doctor in his 50's, who owns a villa on Rozsadomb and a Western car, is disgruntled because of his low salary. Although he is director of a

hospital ward for internal diseases, he earns hardly 8,000 forints per month. Allegedly he receives little gratuity since patients pay this to the attending physicians. He has no private practice because, in his opinion, this would damage his organism. By his activities as a forensic doctor and since the employees of a foreign embassy are his patients, he manages to supplement his income. Moreover, he has an influential private patient. Yet despite the help of the latter he has been unable thus far to get a private telephone, although that would be important for his work.

My interviews included a recurring theme, i.e., that family members cannot or do not want to participate in the accumulation of wealth. Children often rebel against their parents' way of life, refuse to follow their parents' profession and neglect their studies. The lawyer, who once had been a prominent athlete and increased his wealth by a good deal of legal subterfuge, has only one son who wants to become a lawyer. His other two sons are poor students. Moreover, one of them is at times a member of a sect, at times he joins a group of hooligans, depending on what kind of people he comes across.

The greengrocer in Pasaret and his wife are bitter because they think that their only son will squander his heritage. He refuses to follow the way of life of his father, who works from dawn to night (and even Sundays), and is not interested in business. The young man in his thirties is divorced and earns 4,000 forints monthly. Although he would have room in the three-story home of his parents, he does not live there since the villa is let out for tourists. (The parents are tied down not only because of their work, but also because of the boarding guests. They do not go on summer vacation on account of that). The son lives in the house of his grandmother at Pesterzsebet, in the expectation of getting an apartment of his own during the rehabilitation process. From the villa of his parents he could reach his work place in minutes, from his present home he travels for hours.

There is a group of conspicuously well-to-do people whom my inquiry could not cover despite the fact that most of them are living in Borough No 2. I mean the leading officials of the state and social organs. I did not skip them intentionally but because they do not figure in any tax roll. Yet I have to mention them since they, too, belong to that social class which has the highest standard of living. Their welfare is not based on the ownership of real estate or other assets but rather on their position. Since they come usually "from the bottom," their assets are only what the state gave them or still gives them, i.e., a good municipal apartment or house and an automobile with driver. Their income, although it always belonged to the highest prevailing salary category, could never vie with the income of those who have been able to supplement their receipts by means of a second job, tips and occasional cunning. For a public figure's possibilities of extra earnings are very limited. And nobody became rich in Hungary merely on his salary. Yet the intertwining of position and benefits entails that, if someone drops out of the leading circle, his standard of living declines immensely. These people have no accumulated assets and, therefore, if they want to live well they have to stick to their positions. But this phenomenon blocks rejuvenation and bars the influx of new people in these positions.

The benefits due to the leading positions were established at the time when property was regarded as something evil. But now, as the accumulation of personal fortune is a recognized and valued endeavor, would the situation not be better and clearer if these persons had much higher salaries and much fewer benefits? Perhaps if an official could attain, after 10 years in a leading position, a decent financial status, he would probably prefer to retire and dedicate himself to his original trade.

During my conversations, I also wondered whether my interviewees had some special talents and qualities which predestined them to rise into the wealthiest population groups. As I mentioned before, artistic talents, the ability of doing creative work certainly pave the way for the individual to rise above the average financially, too. But this requires persistent hard work and great endurance.

As an almost common pattern of my interviewees was their enterprising spirit. This was used by some of them for increasing or conserving wealth, by others for professional advancement. For example, one of my interviewees, who had a technical college degree, was enjoined to graduate in law to be sent as a diplomat to the United Nations. He complied with this requirement and although later he was not sent to New York but elsewhere, he nevertheless, owed his career to his supplementary studies.

The careers of many of them were favorably influenced by their knowledge of languages. Obviously, this is an investment which yields dividends, if any, only after several years. It was also interesting that none of the interviewed of working class descent had studied for careers which entailed the benefit of foreign service or frequent trips abroad. One of them, for example, came into contact with aviation during his military service and chose it as a profession. On a trip to Africa, where he served on a specific type of airplane, he fell gravely ill. In his opinion, it was for this reason that the authorities paid particular attention to his rehabilitation. He got a chance to learn languages and soon after he became a MALEV [Hungarian Air Transport Enterprise] representative in a Western country.

Conversely, among people of good birth there is a conspicuous tendency toward such jobs which involve as many trips abroad as possible. Yet no matter which group of people of the highest standards of living I scrutinized, they have one common characteristic, i.e., they are persons with above-average talents. Their qualities might range from a flair for business to shrewdness, from courage to an ability for quick perception.

In my experience, the origins of our domestic high standards of living are: work, heritage, foreign service, government benefits, some kind of trickery and even evasion of the laws. Those who own the larger fortunes might have resorted to two or perhaps three of the aforementioned expedients. There is a widespread belief in Hungary that breaches of the laws are the quickest ways to get rich. The motive behind this is that little light has been shed on those who have exceptionally high standards of living, and when it has, it was usually "blue light." Yet the swindlers and embezzlers are sooner or later unmasked. On the other hand, in the more permissive economic

environment of the 1980's persons with above-average enterprising spirit and business talent, who also like money, do not necessarily become criminals. Some of my interviewees dared to disclose their old breaches of the law since most of them are no longer punished. Some cases have, however, shown that wealth may be accumulated and society be hurt through using protection and connection. The governmental Mercedes car, which was sold under its market price, the plot of land at Lake Balaton acquired through connections at a cheaper price have distorted the pattern of income distribution just as much as other forms of income earned without work. It is not the measure of wealth that can be attained nowadays, nor the way of life of the wealthiest which are perilous to society but the fact that the highest standards of living can be achieved by means other than outstanding performance. And during the last decades this was to some extent so.

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FUNCTION, INCOME DETAILS OF SPECIALIZED WORK GROUPS DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 20 Jan 84 pp 16-17

[Interview with members of a specialized work group by Attila Deak, in factory and workshop, date not specified]

[Text] A vgmk [enterprise specialized work team] is operating on Dimitrov St in Gyula. Everyone in the neighborhood calls the shopowner Bandi Szasz. People conjecture all kinds of things--particularly in the evening when a blue light filters from the shop window--but, considering everything, they regard their neighbor as an industrious man, and some envy his entrepreneurial spirit. Andras Szasz is a relative of the famous painter only by nickname, otherwise he is the engine fitter of the Gyula Stocking Factory, an athletic-looking, always smiling young man.

Only his wife is at home in the early afternoon hours, and she gladly shows the modernly equipped shop: welding equipment, lathe, grinder and a variety of tools that meet every need.

[Question] What do you think of having a minifactory in your house?

[Answer] The truth is I do not usually discuss my husband's business, but I think this will be a good thing. Bandi was also a private entrepreneur before this, he has his license for vehicle repair as a secondary occupation, but now he is giving that up.

[Question] Was the tax too great?

[Answer] I can't say that. He is giving it up because this is how a small collective at the stocking factory in his line of work can earn additional money. And since the members are my husband's good friends and he, too, likes to work on these machines, he chose to do this. And do you know what? I was very happy when they brought these stocking-weaving machines here. Nine years ago I myself gave up working there in tears.

(Mrs Andras Szasz caresses the machines not only with her eyes but also her hands. She says that there were times when it was hardly possible to get a job anywhere else in the city, and her father-in-law and his three daughters-in-law also worked there.)

[Question] When I inquired at the stocking factory about the vgmks, they directed me to Tibor Paroczi, the young chief mechanic at the factory.

[Paroczi] After a long period of waiting, two vgmks were formed at our factory, and after obtaining the necessary licenses the opportunity arose for starting the actual work. It became one of our tasks to maintain on a regular basis the electric motors used in our plant. In this way we succeeded in reducing to very rare occurrences the stoppage of the knitting machines because of burnout. The work is done by four men who have undertaken to maintain 500 motors at a minimum, or to perform repairs as needed. The expected economic result is that the stoppage costs and the cost of rewiring electric motors will certainly decrease. In addition, the mechanics vgmks which is what for the time being we call them, perform as needed the major repair work on the knitting machines in the factory, the manufacture of spare parts--which are not available in the factory--and their fitting.

Tibor Paroczi is also a member of the vgmk. At 2:15 pm he leaves his desk, meets in the factory yard with his three companions, and leaves for Bandi Szasz's shop on Dimitrov St.

[Question] What do the other managers in the factory say about this?

[Paroczi] They support it.

[Question] Aren't they envious?

[Paroczi] Who knows! But if someone is envious, let him try it himself and do as we do. It is not child's play to work 4 additional hours every day. There is always opportunity for work. They talked to me today about the formation of another vgmk. Another association will be formed apparently in the near future for the medium repair of machinery.

[Question] Tibor, won't you soon be having many people at the factory angry with you?

[Paroczi] Why?

[Question] Isn't it incompatible for you to be the boss of these men both on the inside and the outside?

[Paroczi] There is no incompatibility. None of these vgmk members is directly my subordinate. And outside, in the mechanics vgmk I am a member of equal rank like everyone else; I do all my work, too. I am both the official in charge and a manual worker of the vgmk.

[Question] Why is it necessary to do this heavy repair work on the machines in a vgmk? Couldn't you do it at the factory?

[Paroczi] These are special machines, there are only a few men in the factory who have the competence. Up to now they were able to find time for the major repair of about 10 machines every year in the factory, and at this rate it would have been possible to do the job once every 33 years for each machine.

[Question] And how was it done up to now? (I press Tibor Paroczi further because somehow I did not want to believe that with the vgmks we have found the magic solution, that is, planned maintenance.)

[Paroczi] Unfortunately, I must say, up to now it has been emergency work. Whenever a machine quit running they set to work on it, otherwise they ran it forever. Now our plan is to get to every machine once in 5 years.

The overhauling of 460 machines is done by 2 men. Sometimes they are also helped by a pensioner. Therefore the overhauling of each machine may occur only after years. But the technical directions specify that the machine must be disassembled every 3 months for operation with proper efficiency. If the machine is dirty it will break the plate and the needle. A plate costs 5 forints, there are 305 such plants in a machine, for the value involved multiply 5 by 305. If it breaks the needle also, the loss is 10 forints times 176. (In the afternoon the work proceeds apace in the shop on Dimitrov St. Working with Tobor Paroczi are Andras Szasz and his younger brother, Istvan, and Ferenc Japport. Ferenc believed that a new tool was needed for repairing one of the spare parts. They immediately set to work making it; they cut the material, and they saw, hammer and weld the unit.)

[Szasz] Such flexibility would be inconceivable in the factory. It would be good to take this outlook inside the gates, but there the material must be requisitioned, the worksheet prepared, then planned, then approved and then put on the lathe, that is, it takes time... At the least a week! The making of a special tool must go through such a labyrinth that it is not worthwhile starting on it. Although we have had little experience, it is already evident that this way of thinking and the work methods will have an effect on factory activities. We cannot simply forget in the factory what we learn at home. But the view still persists that people drive themselves hard in the vgmks in the afternoon and rest themselves up at the factory.

As you can see, here everything is at hand. In the factory there is a separate tmk (preventive maintenance) shop, a separate welding shop, a separate forge, and so forth. The distances involve several hundred meters, one is at the end of the factory yard, the other upstairs. Unfortunately, we have the bad habit of keeping things where they were up to 30 years ago.

[Question] How long would it take to do this work in the factory?

[Japport] The working time would be about one-third greater.

[Question] How does the factory do the accounting? For example, if you disassemble a knitting machine, and you see that a part is broken, whom is the cost charged to?

[Japport] See, these parts we removed from the machine (he points). We're putting new ones in their place. The enterprise supplies us with everything. Since such machines were introduced at Gyula, I have had the job of repairing them; and as soon as I look at one I can tell what is wrong, and what is needed. For example, it has been written on this machine that the gear rack is broken.

[Question] How much does a part like this cost?

[Japport] About 1,000 forints, but at the same time we also repair the machine. The parts in a machine like this are worth from 30,000 to 40,000 forints. But its value, since it is used, comes to about 300,000 forints.

[Question] Doesn't the danger exist that others will slander you with the accusation that you bring out more parts than you need?

[Japport] We can account for every part to the last screws. We have the section manager writes out a requisition for everything we take out; then we carry out the order, they make out the delivery bill in the warehouse, note the amount and we go to the section supervisor, who signs it and authorizes the parts to go.

[Paroczi] Many persons in the factory were thinking about looking for other work. But everyone wants to keep qualified skilled workers. For that reason, that is a great opportunity both for the factory and the workers.

[Question] Do you work on Saturdays and Sundays?

[Paroczi] No. Weekday afternoons are enough. You have to think also of the family.

[Question] How much do you receive for the repair of a machine?

[Paroczi] Major repair takes 400 hours, and the overhead hourly wage is 80 forints, because this is a highly qualified activity. That is, our earnings are 400 times 80.

[Question] How do you calculate this?

[Parocsi] The average was set on the basis of experience over many years. There are some machines on which we have to work longer. You also have to be lucky as to what kind you get.

[Question] How much can you earn in the vgm?

[Parocsi] We can earn a maximum of 50 forints an hour. Generally in the factory we work for 25 forints an hour. If we assume we work 60 hours in the vgmK, then we receive nearly 4,000 forints additional income a month.

[Question] Overtime counts toward the pension and base wage, but not the money earned in the vgmK.

[Szasz Istvan] Young people work here. Pensions are not a concern. I, too, have 25 years to go.

[Question] Sociologists have made a series of interviews: on the basis of these personal but anonymous interviews--even by conservative estimates--the level of actual earnings is two to three times higher than the posted average hourly wage, in manual work areas 80-150 forints, in nonmanual areas 150-350 forints an hour.

[vgmK member] Apparently this is for the capital city not for the provinces. Earnings in the provinces are more modest.

6691

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HUNGARY

ARMED FORCES' SERVICE REGULATIONS MODIFIED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian No 3, 21 Jan 84 p 3

[Interview with Dr Gyula Kreisz, major general, by NEPHADSEREG correspondent; date and place not specified]

[Text] It is well known that Decree Number 3/1983 (26 November) of the HM [Ministry of Defense] modified or amended on 1 January 1984 the Service Regulations of the Armed Forces of the Hungarian People's Republic. The modifications and amendments affected mostly Article XI on commendation and disciplinary accountability. It is always of great importance when the basic regulations of the armed forces, or some part of it, are changed. It is for this reason that we asked for information from Dr Gyula Kreisz, major general and the director of the legal and administrative department of the FM, for the circumstances obtaining in the preparation of the changes, the more important provisions of the new Article XI, and the tasks related to their adaptation and proper application.

[Question] Comrade major general, what factors justified the modification of Article XI regarding commendations and disciplinary accountability?

[Answer] As a supervisory task related to the implementation of the Service Regulations, we always followed carefully the situation regarding the implementation of Article XI. Thus it was our experience that in certain parts of the regulations there were legal weaknesses, inaccuracies and contradictions, which also showed up in the activities of those who applied the regulations. Therefore a ministerial decision was made that it was necessary to prepare the modification or amendment of Article XI. In the 9 years which have passed since the regulations came into effect, among other things the commendation and disciplinary rights of the civilian superiors in relation to the soldiers did not work well. Some of the types of disciplinary action defined by the regulations were not shared among the various levels of superiors. For example, it has been a problem for years that the regulations have used "warning" disciplinary action sometimes as a disciplinary action type and sometimes as instruction.

The modification or amendment of the regulations can also be explained by pointing out that in recent years numerous statutory provisions have appeared which directly affected Article XI of the Service Regulations. The punitive

statutory provisions were modified as well as the Penal Code, and the law regarding punitive procedure. Instructions have appeared regarding command investigation of criminal affairs. Since there is a very close relationship between the disciplinary article and the penal statutory provisions, we also had to implement changes in Article XI. But there were also changes in the system of furlough awards, which affected the entire article.

In recent years four orders at the ministerial level were published for the elimination of the aforementioned weaknesses. As a consequence, there was a significant increase in the scope of legal materials directly linked to the article which made it more difficult to enforce the disciplinary rules. In this situation both commanders who apply the regulations and the upper military leadership began to demand that the disciplinary rules had to be unified or simplified. In carrying out the regulatory tasks, the following were worked into the provisions of Article XI: ministerial instruction regarding the system for establishing and paying fines; ministerial instruction regarding the exercise of command disciplinary right; ministerial guidelines for the exercise of command disciplinary right, and two positions of principle at the ministerial level. The earlier 1975 regulation already created the basis for further measures of regulation. Thus these provisions which were published in the meantime--in substantially shorter form--had to be placed in Article XI.

[Question] To what extent did the changes take into account the requirements for strengthening the military service system and discipline?

[Answer] The regulation is in full harmony with the changes in the circumstances of military life and service, and with the discipline situation in the army. The modified disciplinary article is more effective than the earlier one and created an inventory of means more in harmony with military service conditions for preventing behavior dangerous and harmful to the service system of the army.

With the regulation change we assured the priority of service interests, but we did not deemphasize the protection of the interest of the whole complement. Verification of the latter are those guarantee-type rules which are to be found throughout the whole article. Where required by the service interest of the army, the provisions have remained strict in outlook. In several cases the legislation is expressly more strict, as in increased fines and in taking into account aggravating circumstances in the case of drunkenness, etc.

But to reply specifically to the question of whether the regulations have become stricter or easier with the changes, we can say that they have preserved the prevailing strictness of military requirements, in several areas they have placed greater demands on the commanders who apply the regulations and, all in all, they point in the direction of greater strictness rather than easement.

[Question] During the preparatory work we often heard that the provisions of Article XI must be made more practicable. Actually, what do these demands cover?

[Answer] The provisions of Article XI in the regulation have become more practicable as compared to the earlier version. The regulation change has carried out the correction of commendations, disciplinary actions and measures, improved the system of disciplinary procedure, introduced the excluding and eliminating causes of punishability, and is thus in full harmony with other statutory provisions. In addition to greater practicability we wanted to avoid formulations that are vague or erroneous and therefore can be misunderstood and lead to difficulties in practice. We were aware of the fact that the regulations are used primarily by military commanders and not by lawyers, thus we tried to make them generally understandable and simple as possible.

It was a requirement during the drafting of the new regulations to reduce or to eliminate, if possible, references to all separate orders in the article. We also had to realize that outside of the Service Regulations--with the exception of higher level statutory provisions--no other orders should be able to establish disciplinary rules. In unifying the disciplinary rules, it was precisely for the sake of practicability that we had to carry out regroupings within Article XI. This is also why Article XI was issued in a unified publication, to promote ease of handling and reviewing.

The new Article XI of the Service Regulations--as compared to the earlier one--includes a substantially greater number of guarantee rules. For the most part they are built into the procedural or punitive rules. On one hand, the guarantee rules mean greater security for the commander who applies the regulation and, on the other hand, for persons who are under the proceedings. Among other things, we must regard as such guarantee rules, for example, the task of the superior to prove the commitment of violation in discipline, or if some doubt arises regarding the provable nature of a circumstance that this cannot be charged to the one who committed the violation, etc.

[Question] Comrade major general, you mentioned that regroupings were made within Article XI. What is the structure of Article XI like?

[Answer] The new Article XI of the Service Regulations consists of 10 parts as compared to 11 in the earlier one. In the article, provisions regarding disciplinary investigations, suspension from assignment, and the recording of awards and punishments do not have an independent part. These have been attached to other portions of the article. On the other hand, the deletion or invalidation of punishments is given a new independent part, as well as guidance for the substance and exercise of command disciplinary rights.

The new Article XI has also remained in the unified system of the Service Regulations. The number of points included in the article and their scope was increased, but considering the related provisions removed from validity (instructions regarding fines, disciplinary guidelines and positions of principle) it has still declined considerably. All in all, the number of provisions was reduced by about 79 points. Thus we succeeded in considerably reducing the legal material.

[Question] Were there changes in the area of award and disciplinary rights?

[Answer] The part entitled "Award and Disciplinary Rights" was changed, but it preserved the institutions developed and maintained earlier by military service interests. Namely, the service superior continues to have the right to exercise award and disciplinary rights, and these rights follow basically the organizational system of subordination and superiority. Rights accorded to the service superior of lower rank also belong to the service superior of higher rank.

In the enactment of the new regulations, the rules removed the right of award and punishment from the civilian superior in respect to his service subordinates. Almost 9 years of experience show that this institution did not function adequately, the civilian superiors hardly ever used this right, which in any event was limited. The conditions did not exist for the introduction of the institution which occurred in 1975. The fact that the number of civilian employees increased in the army did not justify the extension of the right.

Also, the rights of the deputy ministers were unregulated up to now. Many were of the opinion--proceeding from provisions of the rules regarding deputies--that the deputy ministers were entitled to regiment command rights. Thus in some place they exercised this right also. The new Article XI clearly regulates their sphere of rights, which is more than that of the regiment commander but less than that of the minister. It is characteristic of this right that it shows signs of ministerial work distribution, and is closely related to it.

[Question] Which portion of Article XI was changed the most?

[Answer] In the new regulation, the most changes and amendments can be found in the part concerning the system of disciplinary procedure and the establishing of punishment. This also indicates that this was the most deficient portion of the earlier regulations, and the most inaccurate. Most of the changes and amendments are given by provisions in the disciplinary guidelines and the positions in principle as well as the changes of the punitive rule.

This part of the regulations has been fully changed in structure and follows closely those interrelated procedural actions which the commanders and their organs must express--within the determined forms and limits--in the interest of establishing disciplinary responsibility and setting proportional punishment.

Disciplinary procedures have phases which follow one another in order and are closely related to one another. In practice, of course, these phases are not sharply divided from one another but merge in the procedural process, and still they follow a kind of logical order. These are the following: the starting of the disciplinary procedure, the conclusion of the disciplinary procedure, the judgment of the violation, the disciplinary investigation, the establishing of the punishment and the announcing of the punishment.

[Question] Comrade major general, what tasks do you foresee in the adaptation and proper use of the provisions in the new Article XI?

[Answer] HM 43/1983 (HK [DEFENSE GAZETTE] 28) provides for familiarization with the new provisions and for instructions regarding the Service Regulations. According to the instructions, the commanders must organize in the complement guided independent studies of the modifications in the Service Regulations, or for providing answers to questions raised, consultations must be held with appropriate differentiation for the various assignments and areas of work. Given the scope of the new provisions in the article, it will require considerable effort by the commanders who apply the regulations and by all others who deal with the article in any form whatsoever to prepare for their adaptation and proper use.

In my judgment, the commanders who use the regulations must be the first to familiarize themselves with the provisions, naturally with appropriate differentiation at the command levels. Thus, it must be especially the unit and higher level commanders who should know the most about the changes in order that they may help in the preparation of their subordinates. Only after this can the lower level commanders be brought into the preparation work, naturally all the way down to the section leaders.

Given the experience gained in the modifications that were made in 1975, the new provisions must be given increased strength at every command level. In this we will give all possible help to the commanders. If necessary we will help in the preparation of the commanders, or with our control work we will seek to influence the proper use of the rules.

6691

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ARTICLE EXAMINES DOMESTIC OPPOSITION TO 1944 NAZI OCCUPATION

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 18 Mar 84 p 7

[Article by Pal Pritz: "Nazi Occupation of Hungary, 40 years in March"]

[Text] The 19th of March 1944 fell on a Sunday. On the night before most of the population went to bed as usual with the end of a workweek ready for a day of rest. World War II had already lasted for almost a half decade, and Hungary, too, had been a belligerent party for nearly 3 years, the catastrophe of the Second Hungarian Army in January 1943 had been the cause of deep mourning in many tens of thousands of Hungarian families, and still the broad masses of the population had been left untouched by the horrors of the war, and the shock of bombings with their spine-chilling, nerve-shattering effect were still unknown. They did not identify themselves with the war; since it affected the course of their living more and more unfavorably at the most without drastically moving it into another channel, they did not violently turn against it. When the rumbling of the German tanks on their roads aroused them from sleep at dawn that Sunday, armed resistance did not emerge from their surprise.

The Germans had been preparing many months for the invasion. "We must be careful to see nothing dirty breaks out in Hungary," Hitler said on the day after the fall of Mussolini. The plan for the invasion of Hungary was ready by the end of September, but was modified thereafter a number of times. On 10 December Edmund Veessenmayer's important report was committed to paper. Treating Hungarians and their history at many points with a condescending and arrogant superiority, he came to the conclusion that the step to be taken was exclusively political, one in which it was of outstanding importance to win over Horthy, who had come under the influence of anti-Germans. An extreme rightwing government under Germany's protection should be put into power, and German interests guaranteed by sending a special political commissioner invested with far-reaching powers. "Every Hungarian who bleeds for us will reduce our sacrifice of blood, strengthen our reserves for further waging the war, and help us in preserving our strength for the solution of great tasks following the war."

Following the new successes of the Red Army at the beginning of 1944, the possibility was realistically near that the Soviets would reach the Hungarian border. Thus the Germans again had to revive the invasion plan, known by

the cover name of Margarethe I, for if Hungary were to pull out it could bring on the collapse of the entire Balkan front. The effort of the Hungarian leadership to withdraw the Hungarian units on Soviet soil to defense positions to be built on the Carpathian front also had an influence on the taking of the planned German step. Horthy wrote a letter about this to Hitler on 12 February. For a while Hitler thought about carrying out the invasion with the help of the Romanians. But since Antonescu, the Romanian dictator, wanted territorial gains in return for his collaboration, the Fuhrer decided finally to do it without the Romanians. And on 28 February he gave the order to draft the final military plan for the invasion. On 7 March, they set 19 March as the day for taking the action, and the next day they set up in Vienna the staff for the direction of the invasion operations. On 15 March, Hitler met with Ribbentrop, the foreign minister, and Himmler, the chief of the Gestapo, for a discussion of prime importance at Klessheim. Prior to the discussions the foreign ministry and the Supreme Security Office of the Reich submitted to the Fuhrer a memorandum which again brought up the course proposed by Veessenmayer. Hitler supported the military solution but wanted to gain Horthy's approval, and thus in essence he decided on unifying the two courses.

The first reports that the Germans were preparing for an invasion of the country had reached Budapest as early as October 1943. More intelligence continued to arrive but the top leadership--with the exception of one or two persons--did not want to give these reports credence. We may regard as characteristic the reaction of Miklos Kallay-- who regarded it inadvisable to take any kind of measure lest--as he put it--the Germans be provoked. Valuable weeks and months slipped by when it would have still been possible to prepare resistance. They watched helplessly the infectious spread of the atmosphere aroused by circles of the extreme rightwing fascists who outspokenly supported invasion. There were generals who--speaking openly--advised their officers to join the SS in order to protect the country because the Hungarian leadership was sabotaging the war.

On the evening of 15 March at the Opera House, Jagow, the German ambassador, gave Horthy the invitation to join the conference at Klessheim. Horthy's advisers were split in their views on the invitation. In the end the regent decided to go, but before boarding the train he took a number of measures in case the invasion should take place and he remained a prisoner in the Reich.

The 18 March meeting of Horthy and Hitler took place in a dramatic way, the discussions were interrupted several times during the course of the day and finally in the talks that took place in the late hours the German Fuhrer succeeded in having the aged regent acknowledge the invasion of the country. The Germans wanted Horthy to sign a proclamation which would have testified that the German troops were arriving in Hungary with the agreement of the regent. Hitler did not in fact achieve this goal, but he did achieve something even more important, namely, that there would be no resistance. Horthy would remain in his office, he would drop Kallay,

the new government would continue the war, and that domestic political life would be changed--all this, indeed. This was the essence.

In Hungary, Keresztes-Fischer, the minister of interior, awoke the prime minister in the early dawn hours with the first reports arriving about the invasion, reports which were confirmed by later reports arriving at a fast rate. Ferenc Szombathelyi, chief of the general staff, also sent a telegram. He cancelled the orders given before his departure, forbade resistance and instructed his deputy that the entering troops stationed in the country exceeded the number of invading Germans, but since serious preparation had not been made in time, the unfolding of any kind of resistance would now be hopeless. The artillery units lacked ammunition for fighting, the infantry hardly had any heavy weapons, the units were scattered in peace-condition garrisons, the soldiers were sleeping peacefully. And even if all this had looked different, most of the commanding officers of the army were of the kind who would not have been inclined to turn weapons on the Germans.

Although the prime minister and the minister of interior sought to inform by telephone the Anglophiles, leftwing or well-known Jewish personalities of the enveloping danger, few could escape the wave of arrests. Endre Bejosi-Zsilinszky alone received the arriving henchmen with a weapon and with pistol shots defended not mainly his life but the honor of the nation. The following, for example, were put into Gestapo prisons--the legitimist Count Antal Sigray, Count Gyorgy Apponyi, Gusztav Gratz, the liberal Karoly Rassay, the Small Holder Party leader Ferenc Nagy, the Social Democratic Karoly Peyer, Mano Buchinger, Illes Monus, the capitalist Ferenc Chorin, and Leo Goldberger. The Budapest mission of the Italian Badoglio government fell into the trap, the leaders of the Polish refugees living in our country, and so on. But all this was not enough for General Winkelmann who directed the action, and therefore they picked at random 200 lawyers and doctors from the telephone directory whom they thought to be Jewish on the basis of their names and had them hauled off.

Veesenmayer, who took the place of Ambassador Jagow and at the same time became plenipotentiary commissioner, immediately started his negotiations, but the wrangling over the new government lasted until 23 March. A government was formed under the leadership of Dome Sztojay, the former ambassador in Berlin, who for more than a decade interpreted German demands to his government so zealously that at times it was hard to tell whom he represented. At the same time, he was a colorless, gray, average figure who had no special reputation in or orientation to Hungarian life, and therefore he appeared to Horthy like someone who could be handled and thus appeared acceptable. After more than two decades, a coalition government was formed again, that is, the Germans did not succeed in bringing the various fascist parties together into a unified fascist government party or in forming a government consisting only of representatives of the fascist parties. The Arrow Crossists were unable to attain the peaks of power.

For the "gleichschaltung" [fascist type unification] of political life, the Social Democratic Party was dissolved on 29 March. A commissioner was placed at the head of the trade unions and workers associations. Purges were conducted in the government party, the state administration and in the army. As a result of all this, the Germans were able to use the country for their purposes all the more fully, while they left in place substantially more signs of political independence than anywhere else in Europe. It is a paradox of history that in the end this was advantageous not to the country but to the Nazis. The mixed situation created for wide circles of the population on appearance of independence, and therefore rather paralyzed than incited the formation of a unified anti-German front with the capability of inflicting injury. Similarly, it created in Horthy the illusion that he still had such means of power in his hands as would make it possible for him to act according to his own insights at the given opportunity. The unfounded nature of his hopes was demonstrated on 15 October in the ashes of his attempt to get out of the war.

This situation was very disadvantageous also from the aspect of foreign policy and the international condemnation of the country. The allied powers did not regard Hungary as an occupied power but as a satellite. Unfortunately, there was a realistic basis for this view in many ways.

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DEVELOPMENT OF WORLD MARXISM DISCUSSED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 1, Jan 84 pp 149-167

[Article by Jerzy Pawlowicz: "Marxism in the World Workers Movement"]

[Text] The vitality of the ideas of Karl Marx is portrayed with special clarity by two circumstances: first--the development of the revolutionary workers movement; second--its work, i.e., the revolutionary transformation of social relations in accordance with the goals envisaged by Marx. There is no question of the achievements of these as a tangible expression of the validity of the diagnoses, prognoses and outlook for social development outlined by the authors of the Communist Manifesto, as well as of their scientific program of the workings of the communist movement. They likewise represent the most direct and convincing criterion of the strength of Marxism both as social development theory and as a weapon of the battle of the proletariat to transform the world.

The first communist organization created in the 1840's was the Communist Union. It had about 400 members. At present there are communist parties active in 98 countries of the world, for a total membership of 80 million communists (76 million in socialist countries, nearly 4 million in capitalist countries and 1.5 million in developing countries). In the 135 years since the publication of the Communist Manifesto a real revolution has occurred in the consciousness of the proletariat that is often defined by the term "victorious march of Marxism." Yet in the 19th century the major ideas of Marx and his closest collaborator F. Engels regarding the historic mission of the working class and the role of the communist party, the inevitability of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the internationalist unity of the tasks and the struggle of the proletariat of various nationalities rid the workers movement of its utopic notions of the paths of the struggle for liberation and united it with a scientific understanding of tasks and goals. Progress in transforming socialism from a utopia to a science likewise was achieved through the development of working class political organizations along with the development of theory: the Communist Union, the First Internationale and the socialist and social democratic parties that grew up independently in various nations.

In the new period of history, the day of imperialism, Vladimir Lenin developed and embellished the ideas of Karl Marx. Using as a basis the study of the laws of socioeconomic development, he provided answers to the most crucial problems of the theory and practice of the class struggle during this new epoch: the paths of development of the socialist revolution, the resolution of the agrarian and national questions and the directions of the building of socialism and the struggle over the liberation of nations from the colonial yoke. Lenin's achievements in the analysis of the tasks of the workers movement and in guiding its work is so comprehensive and great that contemporary Marxism has gained the name of Leninism, with full justification. In assessing these achievements, J. Andropov stated that Lenin "did more than anyone else not only to defend but also to develop creatively--under new historic conditions--all of the composite elements of Marxism, for its implementation in practice... Leninism is Marxism of the age of imperialism and of proletariat revolutions, of the overthrow of the colonial system, of the passage of humanity from capitalism to socialism. Without and apart from Leninism, Marxism in our epoch is simply impossible."¹ The term Marxism-Leninism in use currently in the international communist movement lends the aspect that was always the most essential for Marx: the idea of continuity and innovation in the development of theory, faithfulness to principles and their enrichment by means of constantly developing revolutionary practice and the unity of theory and the dialectical method as a research directive and the basis for the scientifically valid policy of the communist movement.

Understood in this way, Marxism-Leninism has nothing in common with the interpretations of the bourgeois and revisionists ideologues concerning the tendency of this term to ostensibly confine the theory of scientific socialism, to treat it as a closed system. On the contrary, this term, in harking back to the source of the theory of scientific socialism and in serving to stress the doctrinal continuity that is so important for every ideological-political movement, legitimizes the identity of communists and also focuses their attention on the creative development of views adapted to a changing reality based on the traditions of Marx and Lenin. This property of Marxist theory was underscored recently, in April 1983 in Berlin at an international scientific conference devoted to the works of K. Marx, by Victor Tiraldo Lopez, a representative from revolutionary Nicaragua. He said: "We learn from him that revolution ought to continue progressive traditions and that is why our party joins Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary achievements of General Sandino. It takes into account the teachings of Lenin regarding the necessity of conducting a policy of² allies. That is how we proceed and that determines the results of our work."² Similarly the Palestinian activists Suleiman Najab synthesized the creative spirit of Marxism³ and said at the same conference: "To be a Marxist is to develop Marxism."³

As one stresses this creative and innovative character of Marxism-Leninism, one cannot but notice at the same time that it is only within the compass of this theory that one can find an answer to the question regarding the fundamental principles and laws of development of the contemporary epoch. This seems to be especially important with regard to the ideological and

cognitive relativism always present in the workers movement. The categories of the fundamental truths of the development of the socialist revolution and the socialist structure used by Marxism-Leninism, combined with specific national characteristics, follow the real course of historical events and are confirmed in the development of the revolutionary process throughout the world. Consequently, the consideration of these categories in the theoretical and practical work of every communist party is necessary to scientifically valid policy that is free from dogmatism and from ineffective pragmatism as well. On the other hand, the undermining of the basic principles of scientific Marxism-Leninism, associated either with the charge that it is obsolete or with its rejection based on the making absolute of the element of the national quality, leads as a rule to theoretical shakiness and, in extreme cases, to revisionism and is attended by opportunistic deviations in the policy of the workers movement. Said Y. Andropov: "Every undervaluing of the role of Marxism-Leninism and of its creative development, the narrow pragmatic interpretation of its tasks, the making light of fundamental theoretical questions and the lording over of opportunism or scholastic theorization threatens serious political and ideological consequences. Time and again, experience and practice have confirmed the validity of Lenin's advice that he '...who sets out to consider particular questions without having first decided the general questions, inevitably will become confronted with these general tasks unawares at every turn. And being confronted blindly with these questions in every particular case means dooming his policy to the worst shakiness and lack of principles.'"⁴

Lenin's ideas, verified in the experiences of subsequent Russian revolutions, and especially in the Great October Socialist Revolution, became the basis for the new stage of international development of the workers movement--the contemporary communist movement. In many countries of the world, new Marxist-Leninist parties arose in conjunction with the Leninist principles of the new type of party--the current and models of Bolshevism that was born 80 years ago at the Second SDPRR [Social-Democratic Workers Party of Russia] Congress and in the struggle with the revisionism and opportunism of the rightist leaders of the Second Internationale. The avowed struggle of communists over the interests of the working masses during the interwar period, their avant-garde role in creating national fronts against fascism and in overcoming fascism in World War II and the multidirectional struggle for social progress after the war became the foundation of the increase in party numbers, of their reaching out to include the masses and of the increase in the influence of communists both in the life of their own countries and in the international arena.

Today the international communist movement, encompassing all continents, is the most influential ideological-political movement throughout the world. The large number of communists and the fact that they are creating a movement with worldwide scope is a vital element of the strength of the movement. Not all sources of communist influence have been exhausted, however. Such elements as the ideological-political and organizational principles of this movement and its real role in the processes of the class struggle are also determining factors here. Unlike the other political workers' organizations, for example, the social democrats, the goal of whose struggle is reform executed upon the

foundation of the capitalist social system, the communists are that force that represents the current and historical interests of the working class and struggles to realize these interests via the transformation of the capitalist society into a socialist society.

It is an important feature of the work of the communists that, just as the working class is the leader over all other classes and social strata battling imperialism, the communist movement functions to organize and coordinate the anti-imperialist struggle on behalf of all other democratic and progressive movements. Finally, the fact that the communist movement expresses not only the national, but also the international interests of the working masses and that it is directed in its work by the principles of proletarian internationalism are inseparable properties of the movement and a vital source of its strength as well. The ideas of internationalism make the communist movement a voluntary alliance of independent communist parties with equal rights joined together in a community of tasks and goals and possessing a common ideology, rather than the sum of separate organizations isolated one from the other.

Participants in the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe that was held in 1976 approved this viewpoint and stated in a joint document that: "they will develop their own internationalist, fraternal and voluntary cooperation and solidarity in the spirit of the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin."

The dynamic development of the class struggle in the modern world added and continues to add much new content to the theory and practice of the communist movement; however, it does not change its fundamental ideological-political assumptions, the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. What's more, recent years have reconfirmed the growing significance of Marxism-Leninism as a universal theory that sheds light on the major tendencies of the modern epoch and steers the policy of the communist movement. At the same time, the worldwide process of revolution has expanded considerably geographically and has assumed a worldwide character. The revolutionary-liberation movement, in this or some other form, now encompasses all continents. At the same time, the revolutionary process has become universal owing to its social content. True, the concrete tasks of the social struggle are extremely varied, since nations that find themselves at various stages of historical development have joined the struggle. However, this does not change the basic fact of the community of the progressiveness of the revolutionary changes occurring throughout the world. Despite the differences that exist, the common goal of all revolutionary movements is the elimination of the socioeconomic structures that complicate the development of production forces and the opening of the path of socialist development in every country.

The Marxist-Leninist research methods used to analyze the essence and the character of the contemporary revolutionary process show that two parallel tendencies are becoming stronger within it: due to the considerable variety of conditions, there is a further differentiation of specific tasks and the corresponding solutions embarked upon by revolutionary forces in the struggle for social progress; at the same time, the internationalization of the class

struggle has deepened the mutual ties and dependencies that exist between the revolutionary changes in particular parts of the world and in particular countries. The course of the social processes in the different sociopolitical zones of the globe illustrate the difference between and interdependency of the currents of the revolutionary struggle.

The currently ruling communist parties in socialist countries represent the most numerous and most influential part of the international communist movement. The major task of these parties is to resolve the entire complex of issues related to the socialist structure in their own countries--the development of the economy, the strengthening of new social relations, the improvement of socialist democracy and the development of culture. Especially in recent years, these parties have taken up many new kinds of questions, such as the shift from extensive to intensive methods of management, the increase in the share of working people in governing the state and the strengthening of socialist economic integration and political cooperation. Despite the fact that this period has not been very prosperous for the national economies of some socialist states, the economic growth rate of CEMA member states over the last decade was two-fold higher than in developed capitalist countries.

Underscoring the importance of these activities for the implementation of the national interests of the particular socialist countries--on the scale of the socialist community--at the same time, we cannot fail to observe their strong impact upon the course of the revolutionary process throughout the world. Through all the complexities and difficulties that occur in the development of the countries of real socialism, such as the crisis in Poland, for example, or crises between countries, such as the war imposed upon Vietnam by the Chinese, the achievements of these countries serve the struggle of revolutionary forces by: creating better models for socioeconomic development than in capitalism; the moral, political and material support of liberation and revolutionary forces throughout the world; by the consistent countering of the aggressive tendencies of imperialism in the international arena, and by the defense of detente and peace. On these planes, the concurrence of the basic interests of socialism and all progressive forces of the contemporary world is particularly strongly in evidence.

An important task that continues to face scientific Marxism is the generalization of the new experiences of socialist countries and the development of the theory of the building of socialism and communism on this basis. Y. Andropov wrote about this problem: "We must be objective in realizing where we are. To jump ahead would be equivalent to setting ourselves tasks that are impossible to implement; to be satisfied only with what has been achieved would mean not using everything that we have available."

The CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] attaches special importance at present to researching the developed socialist society. The 26th KPZR Congress gave the preparation of a concept of developed socialism first priority. The scientific analyses made on this issue likewise have great importance in other socialist countries. The Polish situation is of a specific sort in this area. The events of the 1980's impacted on the need to focus on crisis phenomena and to analyze the mechanisms of counterrevolution.

This does not rule out interest in broader theoretical-program issues covered, for example, in the discussion surrounding the "What we are fighting for, where we are aiming" declaration.

Y. Andropov's answer to the question, "what is socialism?" is a valuable summing up of the theoretical research of the mechanisms of the development of the socialist structure. Defining the methodological premises for resolving this question, he emphasized that, on the one hand, one should refer to the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin and on the other, one should take into account the unchangeably rich practical experiences of the nations of the Soviet Union and other fellow nations.

According to the assumptions of Marx, the social ownership of the means of production is a major element of the existence of socialism, as well as being its foundation and a primary source of its progress. "...Socialism eliminates the eternal barriers that separate work and culture and creates an extremely durable alliance of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, of all blue-collar and white-collar workers, led by the working class. It acquaints the working masses with the achievements of science, technology, literature and art and secures unprecedented recognition for the creative work of the intelligentsia. Socialism unites into a harmonious family peoples that formerly were at odds because of nationalistic quarrels and ensures the just resolution of the nationalities problem that arose through the system of exploitation. Socialism brings about the rise of national forms of life, at the same time creating a new type of international and interparty relations that exclude any sort of inequality of rights and are based on brotherly cooperation and mutual aid."^{6a}

From the moment that the period of the shift from capitalism to socialism ends, from the moment that the new socialist system of life takes hold, the sharp social clashes in society caused by the division of society into enemy classes become eliminated. But this does not mean the liquidation of all conflicts and disaccord. While the antagonisms disappear, the conflicts remain. "It does not follow from this that we can make light of non-antagonistic conflicts, ignoring them in practice. Life teaches us that if we pay no attention to this, then likewise the conflicts that are not in essence antagonistic can lead to serious clashes. Another, very important aspect of the issue is to make proper use of the conflicts in socialism as a source and stimulus for its constant development."

An important theoretical assertion raised by the 26th CPSU Congress is the idea of the rise of an essentially classless structure of society within the historical framework of mature socialism. We should also point out the other theoretical problems related to the structure and function of socialist society: the evolvment of the collective consciousness and customs, the problem of the articulation and joining together of individual interests, group interests and the interests of society, the problem of the principles of distribution in socialism, the problem of shaping a new character of work, lending it the proper status in daily life and in the values system and the enrichment of the form and content of socialist democracy. This is a group of problems whose successful solution determines both the development of the socialist countries themselves and the impact of the socialist idea on the modern world.

A primary characteristic of the revolutionary process in the sphere of the national liberation movement is the intensification of the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, together with the simultaneous increase in the aspirations of progressive forces to make radical socioeconomic changes, and the intensification of the battle against internal reactionaries--liege lords, the grand bourgeoisie and our own national bourgeoisie in part linked to foreign capital. The extent of this process is expressed in the universal character of decolonization and, within its framework, in the creation of more than 20 states with a population of about 200 million. These proclaim themselves to be in favor of the socialist path of development realized at various tempos, using various means and methods. The revolutionary parties, that in recent years have been adopting the organizational principles of Marxist-Leninist parties and the theory of scientific socialism, are the leadership force of almost half of these states.

Given the fact that the contemporary sociopolitical structure is just being formed in most developing countries, the working class is weak and revolutionary forces are not organized enough. Many of them are undergoing serious problems. Imperialist forces take advantage of them, and more than once this has led to the halting of revolutionary processes--as, for example, in Peru or Somalia, or to the open victory of counterrevolution--as, for example, in Chile or Egypt. But in most countries--such as Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Libya, Afghanistan, Cambodia and Nicaragua--social revolutions have gained strength and are developing.

The specific nature of the development of the liberation struggle cannot hide the reality of the growing interdependence between the operation of revolutionary forces in this zone of the world and the development of revolutionary processes in its other regions. The role played by the socialist system in eliminating colonialism expressed this; new examples of the solidarity of socialist states, especially economic and political aid, continue to give evidence of it. The birth of dozens of newly liberated states and their active, anti-imperialist policy--the movement of nonaligned countries--represents an essential element impacting upon the change in the structure of international forces favoring peace and social progress.

Another way that this interdependency is expressed is through the deepening of the bond of content of social liberation processes and world revolutionary transformations. The programs of the developing popular-democratic revolutions in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, aimed at imperialism, neo-colonialism and the conservative circles of the national bourgeoisie, envisage the passage into socialism, via a series of intermediate stages. They are an added confirmation of the concepts of Marx and Lenin regarding the possibility of building socialism in backward countries, bypassing the capitalist stage of development.

The importance of Marxist-Leninist theory for the revolutionary struggle in developing countries was emphasized many times at the Berlin conference devoted to Karl Marx. And so, for example, Abu Bakr Babeef stressed the close link between the theory of national democratic revolution with a socialist orientation, formulated by the Yemen Socialist Party, and the

principles of scientific socialism. The adoption of these principles for the basic party program in 1978, he said,⁸ signified a qualitative change in the development of the Yemen revolution. Gisele Rabesahala, representing the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar, took a similar view of Marx. The Marxists of this country treat the teachings of Marx and Lenin as a whole, confront them with practice and they develop further. Since the Second Congress in 1982, scientific socialism⁹ has become the foundation of the program and the statute of this party. Next Bonata Dieng, a representative of the Democratic Party of Guinea, analyzed the influence of the teachings of Marx "from old Europe, upon Asia, Africa and America," stating that these teachings provide "real answers to the basic problems of contemporary life. In the struggle for socialism,¹⁰ peace and social progress, Marxism was and is an infallible road marker."

Recent decades are characterized by the development of the workers movement in developed capitalist countries. Especially in the 1970's, in many of these countries there developed various forms of mass struggle against the effects of the crisis that gripped the entire capitalist world, carrying with it unprecedented unemployment, inflation and worsening of the living conditions and working conditions of the laboring masses. The development of class struggles was attended by the increase in the influence of communist parties that in Western Europe alone increased their numbers during the last decade by about 50 percent, or 1 million members.

The theoretical assumptions of Marx, developed creatively by Lenin, enabled the scientific assessment of the major trends of development of contemporary capitalist societies and became the foundation of the generalizations of the new conditions of the class struggle and for the preparation of programs, strategies and tactics of communist parties. The development of modern capitalism confirmed in full that the major contradiction of this system--between labor and capital--has deepened and expanded. This is expressed in the growing antagonism between the overwhelming majority of people and the monopolies within capitalist societies, in the antagonism between the two social systems of socialism and capitalism in the international arena, and finally, in the new phenomenon of the increased antagonism between the major imperialist countries conducting a neo-colonial policy and developing countries. The foundations of the states ruled by monopolistic capital are also undermined by the scientific-technological revolution that sharpens the conflict between the social character of production and capitalist ownership.

As it generalizes the processes occurring in developed capitalist countries, the contemporary communist movement today demonstrates a greater than ever ripeness of material premises for the shift to socialism. At the same time, however, it stresses that this cannot be identified with the maturity of the entire complex of conditions for the execution of the socialist revolution. Many important factors counter this: the strength of the contemporary state built on monopolist capital; the international ties of capitalist countries, and especially the coordination of their policy within the NATO framework; the great impact of reformism within the workers movement itself; the farreaching differentiation of antimonopolist fronts in particular countries and on the scale of the entire capitalist system. Hence, although the

"crisis of the masses" is maturing, it is an uneven, internally contradictory process. It is evident, for example, that the relatively rapid growth of revolutionary processes and communist party influence during the mid-1970's in Spain and Italy was retarded at the end of this decade and at the beginning of the 1980's. A more general phenomenon occurring in most capitalist countries as the class struggle reached the masses was the reduction in the level of the revolutionary awareness of the participants in this struggle. In this, however, resides one of the major causes of the fact that the maturation process of the premises of socialist revolution lags behind the maturation of the material premises of the passage to socialism.

The complexity of the modern circumstances of the struggle for socialist revolution causes the importance of its subjective element to grow during its course, i.e., that work of communist parties that allows for the use of new possibilities and for the overcoming of difficulties. During the past 10 years, these parties made a significant effort in the field of the theoretical clarification of the new tasks of the class struggle and the strategies and tactics that correspond to them. From recognizing the potential of the peacetime development of revolution, they have passed to explaining the specific forms of its course. They have prepared programs for democratic transformations as alternatives to the governments of state-monopolistic capital and have defined the planes of cooperation with the social democrats and trade unions of various orientations and farreaching concepts of broad antimonopolistic alliances; they have expanded cooperation on the regional level in the field of the struggle to transform the monopolistic structures of Western Europe into democratic structures, and on the worldwide level in the aim to deepen the processes of detente and peaceful coexistence. Overall their efforts to find answers to the new problems of the class struggle have yielded positive results. Their basic results are: linking the general principles of revolutionary development with the specific conditions in their own countries, deepening programs that have been set forth, and concretizing demands that have been voiced.

At the same time we cannot lose sight of the fact that the positions developed in some parties within the framework of "Eurocommunism" are evoking discussion and resistance both within these very parties and within the international communist movement. As the documents of PCI [Italian Communist Party], PCE [Spanish Communist Party] and several other parties published between 1981 and 1982 (in conjunction with the imposition of martial law in Poland) reveal, the most important issues in this area include: an approach to the struggle for peace and detente that is divorced from class determinants and places the foreign policy of socialist and imperialist countries on one plane; the critical attitude to countries of real socialism in the modern world that undermines their role as "models" of socialism that "has exhausted its driving force"; the negative attitude to the principles and forms of cooperation of communist parties in use until now, based upon ideas of proletarian internationalism. This is accompanied by the negation of the universal significance of Leninism revealed earlier and, in conjunction with the turn of events in Poland, the classless assessment, departing from the principles of proletarian solidarity, of these events as a "military coup d'etat" disrupting the democratization process.

The eurocommunitistic evolution of some parties in the West, in widespread use by ideologists of anticommunism to undermine the unity of the communist movement, has long aroused anxiety in the international communist movement. But since the principles adopted in the theory and practice of this movement concerning the independence of the particular parties in determining their own policy are valued, polemics with these parties have been avoided. Consideration has been given to the large area of specific kinds of solutions in countries of developed capitalism and the difficulties confronting communist parties in these countries in their struggle to increase their influence; solidarity and support have been manifested for them, and discussions have been entered into on controversial questions in which the dividing line is personal experience. In particular this movement underscored the significance of the fundamental truths of the struggle for socialism in conjunction with the specific national character and proposed that a series of new solutions and concepts formulated in the West and unconfirmed to date, should be examined as hypotheses whose values would be determined by social practice, and not as universal ideas of the development of the communist movement.

The contents noted of the documents of the PCI leadership and that of several other parties introduced a new kind of element into the ongoing discussion. According to the assessments of the CPSU and the other communist parties of the countries of the socialist community, as well as the vast majority of the world communist movement, apart from containing theoretical concepts that engendered resistance, they represented a clearly unfriendly manifestation of the political attitude to the socialist countries. Hence these countries voiced an emphatic protest against the attempts to impose a polemic that would do damage to the entire communist movement.

The revolutionary process in the sphere of the rule of monopolistic capitalism signifies a far advanced specific quality not only by comparison with other zones of the world, but also in the differences between capitalist countries. The uneven development of the communist movement and the different positions of particular parties on the essential questions of program and strategy reflect this: different concepts of alliances--toward broad democratic understandings on the one hand, and an orientation toward a leftist alliance on the other; various methods for resolving the economic crisis--in some parties the recognition of the "belt-tightening" policy in cooperation with government groups along with the firm rejection of this method by other parties; a different approach to international policy with an accent on "European" solutions in some parties and on the defense of national sovereignty in others. However, all these differences cannot hide the common bond of content of the revolutionary process and the deep interdependence between the zone of capitalist countries and the other parts of the world in the successes and failures of the revolutionary movement.

This interdependence that makes for the internationalist essence of the communist movement has developed over the course of its entire history. It is expressed in particular through the close link that exists between the strategy of the struggle over a peaceful development of the revolution adopted by the majority of communist parties in developed capitalist countries and the role played by socialist states in the international power structure.

It is a fact that the increase in the strength of socialist countries limiting the potential for imperialism to export counterrevolution became the point of departure for the preparation of this strategy in the 1950's and 1960's. In the 1970's, on the other hand, the consistent struggle of socialist states over peaceful coexistence and its successful results in the form of detente created favorable circumstances of development for the workers movement in capitalist countries. Within the detente atmosphere, there occurred the elimination of the Fascist regimes in Greece, Portugal and Spain, anachronisms in the new international reality. The cold war tendencies on which reactionary, anticommunist regimes tended to be based were restricted and many communist parties that were formerly illegal (in the FRG, Greece, Portugal and Spain) gained the ability to act freely. The indissoluble link between the prospects for social development and a power structure on the international arena that favors socialism defines today's reality of the work of communist parties in capitalist countries. There is no indication that these parties would be able to resolve successfully their internal tasks--the achievement of social progress, the victory of the antimonopolist democracy and that of the peaceful shift to socialism--outside the context of the general relationship of the forces of socialism and capitalism, war and peace.

The previously sketched characteristic features of the development of the world revolutionary process--the increasing differentiation of, and interdependence between its major currents--are reflected in the situation and the tasks of the communist movement. A distinct result of the farreaching diversity of this process is the increase in the significance of specific traits and national functions in the policy of every party and an increase in its role as a national political force. Currently, it is not only in socialist countries where communist parties are the ruling power and embody fully in political practice nationwide tasks that these parties are emerging as national forces without whose participation the growing political and economic problems cannot be resolved, but likewise in many capitalist and developing countries.

Contrary to the claims of the ideological opponents of Marxism, however, the consequence of the strengthening of the national role of communists is not a reduction in the significance of internationalism or the inevitability of the breakup of the communist movement into national units isolated from one another; it is, instead, the growth of the significance of internationalism and the cooperation of communist parties based upon it. Only the cementing of this cooperation on the scale of the entire communist movement can ensure the effective resolution of international, national and regional tasks alike: the building of socialism, the struggle against neo-colonialism and social progress in capitalist and underdeveloped countries.

The new conditions for the operation of particular communist parties interject much that is new into the sphere of the internationalist cooperation of the communist movement. The broader scope of specific and national tasks requires a creative, uncommon approach to policy and rules out schematic solutions based upon the blind copying of other countries' models. On the other hand, the growing scope of international tasks demands the generalization of the

experiences of the revolutionary struggle, the elucidation of new theoretical problems and the coordination of political activities. Hence the total respect for the autonomy and sovereignty of each party together with the constant cementing of mutual relations and, in line with this principle, the improvement of organizational forms of cooperation represent the general guidelines of the contemporary policy of the communist movement.

All these circumstances confirm the vitality of Marx's teachings, as developed by Lenin, on the unity of the national and international aspects of the class struggle. The increase in the national functions of communist parties is related to the increase in the significance of internationalism, due to the increase in their responsibility for the correct combining of national and international tasks and for the solid uniting of revolutionary tasks within their own countries with the work of all revolutionary forces.

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The greater and greater importance of internationalism in the policy of the communist movement corresponds directly to the objective processes of the internationalization of life that lead to the systematic cementing of the mutual ties of contemporary societies on the economic, sociopolitical and cultural planes. In the course of these processes, many problems arise that are of great importance for all of humanity. Alongside the crucial question of the use of the scientific-technological revolution for the general good, such problems must be resolved as: the overcoming of raw materials and energy problems, the elimination of the most dangerous and widespread diseases, the protection of man's natural environment and the harnessing of outer space for peaceful purposes, as well as many other problems. That is why the going [as published; should be "daleko idacy," The farreaching...] progress in science and technology demonstrates that all these problems can be resolved successfully. Capitalist relations based on the private ownership of production hinder the transformation of this potential into reality. Monopolistic capitalism addresses these global needs in its own interests: in order to maximize profits and to preserve or increase its sphere of influence, it creates powerful supranational associations and uses various means of intervention.

Consequently, the real solution of the global problems of humanity in our times is possible only based on a broad democratic or socialist foundation, as a result of the uniting of the activities of all forces that fight for social progress. That is why the internationalist solidarity of these forces is an indispensable premise for the successful countering of the imperialist policy of exploitation and domination.

As we note the many aspects of the impact of the idea of internationalism on the processes of the class struggle, we cannot but observe that currently it takes on a special significance, primarily as an idea of the uniting of all peaceful forces in view of the intensification of the activities of imperialism that endanger humanity, carrying with them the threat of war. Since the end of the 1970's, American imperialism has taken advantage of the political crises and difficulties that plague many capitalist countries, attempting to restore

the leading role it played in the capitalist world in the first years after World War II. This is expressed in its activities "from a position of strength" in the international arena, in the strengthening of the role of NATO, in the coordinating of the economic policy of developed capitalist countries against the interests of socialist countries and developing countries, in open and covert interventions into the internal affairs of states all around the world--from Italy, Spain and Portugal to Chile, Nicaragua, Lebanon, El Salvador, Afghanistan and many other countries, including Poland.

The antisocialist propaganda campaigns organized under the demagogic slogan "threat from the East" disrupt the political atmosphere favoring detente that was created during the mid-1970's, whose expression was the calling of the CSCE. The world is threatened the most seriously by the armaments taken up by the United States and by the plans to deploy new nuclear missiles in Western Europe, as well as by the accompanying doctrines of "limited" or "local" nuclear war, that ostensibly can be won without subjecting humanity to all-out war.

The tendencies of the present international situation cause the antiwar positions of the communist movement and its guiding force, the socialist states, to go far beyond the class interests of the proletariat alone. Emanating from the humanistic foundations of the Marxist-Leninist world view, from the peaceful nature of socialism, they serve the most vital interests, both of the working class and of all of humanity.

Underscoring this truth, let us turn our attention to the most characteristic traits today of the position of the communist movement on the issue of war and peace. First, it complements the moral opposition to war as a phenomenon that places the heaviest burden in every situation upon the working masses, by analyzing concretely the anticipated results of nuclear war on the global scale, from the perspective of the world's existence. In the event of a nuclear war, there would not be a single place on the globe where human civilization, or perhaps even life, could develop. In the face of such a danger, preserving peace is of the highest value. Peace today is not merely a favorable circumstance for, but a necessary condition for both social progress and the very survival of humanity. Hence its defense is the highest goal of the communists.

Secretary general of the CPSU CC Yuri Andropov, expressing the position of the CPSU on this issue, said: "One really has to be blind to the realities of our era in order not to see that regardless of how and where the nuclear whirlwind arises, it inevitably will escape control and will cause a general catastrophe. Our position on this issue is clear: we cannot permit a nuclear war--neither a small one, a large one, a limited one nor a total one. At present there is no more important task than holding back those that are inciting a new war. The vital interests of all nations demand this."¹¹ This is a synthesis of the aspirations of all socialist countries, of all forces of peace.

Second, the communist movement does not limit itself only to pointing out to people the tremendous dangers carried by nuclear war, but also informs them whence it threatens. It points out the sources of the threat of war inherent in the U.S. imperialist policy--the major sources of warlike tendencies, the most aggressive circles of monopolistic capitalism, the military-industrial complexes and the reactionary and nationalist wings of bourgeois parties. It unmasks their methods of operation--organized anticommunist campaigns and especially the resurgence of the "threat from the East" myth as a pretext for the call to arms and for the increase in international tension. At the same time, it mobilizes the progressive forces of the modern world to speak out against war, against its real and not its imaginary causes.

According to Marx, the duty of the working class is "to gain control of the secrets of international policy and to follow the diplomatic activity of its own governments, opposing it in case of need through all available means, and when this is impossible, uniting in simultaneous protests; it is the duty of struggling so that the simple principles of morality and justice (...) become the highest binding laws in relations between nations."¹² This continues as a current guide-post marking out the path of the struggle of the working class for peace.

Finally, the third element of the communist movement's position is to counter war or the threat of war with the alternative of the realistic and constructive program for the development of international relations, for the defense of detente and for the development of cooperation between states that have different socioeconomic systems. The Soviet Union and the states of the entire socialist community currently are doing everything possible to help reduce the level of military confrontation and to ensure real disarmament based on equality and on the principle of equal security, to protect nations from the threat of nuclear war. Their proposals, including the draft plan presented in the Prague Declaration of the States-Sides of the Warsaw Pact for concluding a agreement on the mutual nonuse of force and the preservation of peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and the announced readiness by the USSR to reach an understanding on the question of the nuclear arms freeze in terms of numbers and on the question of limiting modernization according to kind--all these create real opportunities for surmounting the dangers of this stage of international relations.

The overall picture of the international policy of socialist countries, as in the past--if we look back to the role of the USSR in World War II and to the role of the socialist community during the "cold war" years and later during the detente process--today also places these countries in the forefront of the forces battling over the peace and progress of humanity, in vanguard positions. The policy of peaceful coexistence implemented by socialist states--of the elimination of armed conflicts from international life, of the adherence to the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and noninterference, of the recognition of the rights of peoples to determine their own fate and of the development of cooperation--has a strategic dimension and has lost nothing of its importance. Supplemented by new proposals for the constructive solution of the conflicts of today's international situation, it provides guidelines for the actions of all forces and currents that struggle

for peace and creates premises for their unification and for understandings among the various social and political forces--the communists, the socialists and the Christian, ecology, women's and youth movements.

In the face of the growing danger of war, the communist movement is redoubling its efforts to stimulate the activism of social forces and entire peoples in the spirit of peace. Powerful peace movements--against the arms race, against the building of new military bases and against the installation of new American missiles--have developed today throughout the world. They have not bypassed the chief NATO states, where, as in the FRG, for example, more than 750,000 people took part in last year's Easter marches, or in the United States itself, where the active "movement for a nuclear arms freeze in the United States" is gaining growing public support.

The communists hold the position that the contemporary peace movement should be of a general democratic nature and should not be subjected to the influence or the views of one party, one political slant. In the cooperation of political and social organizations with different ideological orientations and people with different world views, they see a vital element of strength and an ability to influence government policy and public opinion toward peaceful ideals. At the same time, however, as they operate within the ranks of the peace movement, they attempt to convince their partners of the ineffectiveness of generalized statements, antiwar declarations and pacifist views and they aim to saturate the movement with the political content that will give its participants a class understanding of the processes of the struggle for peace. This means clearly defining the adherents and the opponents of the detente process, differentiating the goals of socialist and capitalist policy, giving firm support to the major elements determining the progress of disarmament and openly opposing the imperialist policy of stirring up international tensions.

The awareness of the exceptional nature of the present stage of development of international relations and the tasks that emanate therefrom is well documented in the communist movement. It is expressed in the April 1983 joint appeal of the communist parties of Denmark, Luxembourg, Norway, Greece, Turkey, Canada and the United States and the German Communist Party, in other words, the parties of those countries whose governments are responsible for the December 1979 NATO decision to deploy new nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Linking this with their own special responsibility in the struggle for peace, these parties appealed for opposition to the NATO plans. The appeal states: "We cannot allow the year 1983 to become the year of the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe. The NATO decision on the missiles issue must be changed and nuclear arms must be frozen! Atom-free zones must be created... The proposals of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states assert that the potential exists for achieving just solutions and for considering equal security for all sides."¹³ Likewise, the 27th Congress of the Danish Communist Party that ended on 15 May 1983, like the congresses of many other West European communist parties, recognized that the struggle for peace and detente and against war preparations and American missile installations are major party tasks.

Speaking, in April 1983, at the world conference dedicated to K. Marx in Berlin, E. Honecker said: "... the international workers movement as a whole has at

its disposal a hefty potential for peace. We are reconfirming our readiness to hold out the party's hand in cooperation to all national-revolutionary parties, liberation movements, socialist and social democratic parties, union organizations and other organizations, to make full use of this potential."¹⁴

As we observe this type of program statement and the active work of communists of all countries in the antiwar movement, it becomes possible for us to assert that the struggle for peace has become the focal point of the work of the entire international communist movement. It also represents the broadest plane of understanding and cooperation of the communists with other political movements, including the reformist current of the workers movement--the international social democratic party.

It is a fact that the growing international tension has led many social democratic parties to speak out against the danger of war, more decisively than in the past. This was expressed at the Berlin conference by representative of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, Paavo Lopponen, who said that in recent years his party "has recognized the policy of strengthening peace to be a priority task," that in the situation that has arisen, "replacing the logic of self-annihilation with the logic of survival" is an issue of the highest importance. He said: "Our premise is that differences in views regarding the understanding of the world have no meaning when we are confronted by the task of not permitting this world to be destroyed... and so we favor dialogue with the movements that represent various world views and political positions..."¹⁵

Ignacio Huguet, representative of the Socialist Party of Uruguay, addressed this same subject more emphatically. He said: "In the face of the great risk to human life, the task of all Marxists, of all progressive forces with different orientations and of all peace loving and life loving forces is to counter the irresponsible agents and propagandists of death and destruction, such as Mr Reagan and his clique..."¹⁶ Next Yiannis Papadatos, representative of the Greek socialists (PASOK), sternly condemned the attempts made to undermine the peace policy of his government by reactionary circles under the slogan "threat from the North." He said that Greece is in no danger from this direction and that the Balkans have ceased being a "powder keg." Meanwhile, the only way to avoid war is not through arms, but through nuclear disarmament.¹⁷ Representative of the Flemish Socialist Party Jan Leclercq also spoke out at the conference in favor of an end to the arms race and the recognition of other priorities in today's policy. He stressed that the initiatives of his party "aim in the same direction as the current conference solutions" and thus concluded "that the struggle for disarmament and peace is not hopeless."¹⁸

Scandinavian socialist parties give a broader scope to these positions aimed toward peace by supporting the idea of atom-free zones and by opposing the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe. As we note these positive positions regarding the issue of the struggle for peace, however, we should be aware that they are not positions universally shared in the social democratic movement. Influential parties of Portuguese, Italian and French socialists oppose them as they tend more and more in the direction of supporting such American positions as those expressed at the Geneva disarmament talks. The recent 16th Congress of the Socialist Internationale held in Albufeira in

April 1983 showed that the social democratic movement as a whole is marked by a wide diversity of views regarding the assessment of the causes of international tension. This hinders its preparation of a constructive program for getting out of the present crisis. The message of the CPSU CC to the participants of the 16th Congress referring to the peace proposals of the socialist countries stated in the Prague Declaration, as an alternative to the policy of the arms race expressed the communists' aim to deepen cooperation with the social democrats against the threat of war.

As the international situation develops, the decision to halt the arms race and to make real progress in the field of disarmament depends not only upon governments but to a significant degree on the political attitudes of working people, on the activism of mass social movements and on their proper guidance. Acting on behalf of the stimulation and coordination of the struggle of the popular masses to avert war, the international communist movement implements most fully the loftiest heritage of Marx's ideas--the peaceful and progressive development of the modern world.

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As we observe the social changes in the modern world, as we assess its history from the time that Marx and Engels originated the communist world view, we see clearly that:

- the major direction of the world's development is marked by the progressive revolutionary process according to the long-range plan it has for the shift from capitalism to socialism,
- the increasingly strong mass movements against all forms of social exploitation and national oppression represent the essence of this process; these are taking place under the leadership of the working class whose historic role was defined and proved by Marx and Engels,
- communist parties--the international communist movement--are the element organizing and coordinating the struggle of the popular masses, guided in their work by the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism whose foundations were laid by K. Marx and F. Engels and developed by V. Lenin.

Thus, it can be said that social practice, the test and the highest criterion of the validity of every theory, confirms the lasting value of Marxism-Leninism. It is a fact that none of the concepts for social development running alongside Marxism--the reformist, the revisionist and the ultra-leftist concepts--have led in practice to creating a society that transcends the capitalist framework.

Emphasis on the universal character and vitality of Marxism-Leninism today assumes importance from the viewpoint of the current directions of the ideological struggle. True, the teachings of Marx were always formed in the struggle with the various varieties of bourgeois or lower middle class socialism, with reformism and revisionism within the workers movement itself. However, as we observe today's extent of the attacks of bourgeois forces on the communist movement we are able to assert that they set up goals for themselves that extend farther than ever before; not only do they attempt to antagonize inter-party relations, but they also undermine the foundations of their unity by debasing the historical experiences of the workers movement and its theoretical

achievements. The effectiveness of the struggle against these actions is impaired by the revisionist tendencies arising within the communist movement itself, concepts that restrict the importance of Marxism-Leninism to national and regional conditions or past period of history, or those that counter Leninism with Marxism.

Addressing these problems, the international communist movement stresses the living and creative character of the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin. These theories are the joint heritage of the entire world working class, enriched by the input of each communist party. They are open to all new suggestions emanating from the development of reality and from the achievements of science. At the same time, they are unyielding in the face of proposals for such ideological-theoretical changes or such compromises as would erase the identity of the communist movement and its class principles.

The PZPR also shares this position. It believes that the diversity of circumstances and the corresponding national characteristics of operation of communist parties ought to enrich the joint policy of the entire communist movement, based on Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, it is opposed to views and actions that, referring to differences in circumstances, undermine the principles of Marxism-Leninism and lead to centralizing tendencies, as well as weakening the unity of this movement. Like the other communist parties of the countries of real socialism, the PZPR rejects in particular all attempts to impose upon socialist societies models of bourgeois democracy that are foreign to them. The program of socialist renewal proposed at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress is treated by the PZPR as activity on behalf of the deepening of the socialist democracy and strengthening of the people's authority, on behalf of the party's ties with the masses and its leadership role in the state and its leading role in society, and not as a program for adapting bourgeois pluralism.

In Poland, the awareness of the importance of the universal values of Marxism-Leninism is currently of special significance. On the plane of the ideological struggle, we are confronted with a dual danger. First, there are the ideological doubts and indecision caused by the deep social, political and economic crisis causing a significant part of society, including party members, to identify what in our life is associated with distortions of Marxism-Leninism, with poor practice, as a crisis in ideology itself. Second, there is the ideological aggression of the unprecedented pressure of anticommunism from abroad exerted upon the public consciousness and the influence of the views of internal counterrevolution upon social attitudes. Under such conditions, the rebuilding and development of the positions of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism in social life are a constant, extremely important PZPR task. It is all the more important since the recent past has been characterized by great neglect in ideological work.

PZPR KC first secretary W. Jaruzelski opened the deliberations of the First All-Poland Ideological-Theoretical Conference by stating: "In the past, the concept of Marxism-Leninism was often used by us as a slogan, a facade, without real depth. A deep chasm arose between theory and practice. As a result, today we must rediscover Marxism-Leninism anew, highlighting its values and its

attraction for working people and scholars. It must be made a powerful defense in the ongoing ideological struggle."¹⁹ The series of party ideological activities embarked upon under the slogan "return to the sources" serves in the implementation of this demand. The commemorations of the 100th anniversary of the workers movement, the guidelines for ideological work laid out at the 12th and 13th PZPR KC Plenums and the ideological-program assumptions for celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland are an important element here. The common denominator of all these activities is the belief that the realization of socialism in Poland "must be executed in accordance with its universal essence and the national traits and experiences of Poland."²⁰

FOOTNOTES

1. Y. Andropov, "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Some Issues Regarding the Building of Socialism in the USSR," IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA, No 4, 1983, p 8.
2. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13 April, 1983.
3. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16-17 April, 1983.
4. Andropov, op. cit., p 22.
5. "Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, Berlin, 29-30 June 1976," Warsaw 1976, p 324.
6. Andropov, op. cit., p 20.
- 6a. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p 21.
8. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13 April, 1983.
9. Ibid.
10. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 April, 1983.
11. TRYBUNA LUDU, 22 December, 1982.
12. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," Vol. 16, Warsaw, 1968, p 14.
13. TRYBUNA LUDU, 30 April-1 May, 1983.
14. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 12 April, 1983.
15. Ibid., 13 April, 1983.
16. Ibid., 15 April, 1983.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., 13 April, 1983
19. IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA, No 5, 1982, p 6.
20. From an address by PZPR KC secretary M. Orzechowski at the 13th PZPR KC Plenum, TRYBUNA LUDU, 15-16 November, 1983.

IMPLICATIONS OF POPULATION EXPLOSION DEBATED

Record Number of Births

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 1, 2 Jan 84 pp 1, 5

[Article by Teg: "A Record Year for Births; Soon There Will Be 37 Million Citizens; Population Explosion Reigns]

[Text] Probably it is worthwhile to believe the folk wisdom that marriages made on a holiday are the most happy and lasting. With this conviction hundreds of young couples have lately rushed to the marriage palaces. On only one holiday Mendelssohn's wedding march sounded 80 times in Warsaw, and no less frequently in other cities. In 1983 over 300,000 couples took their places on the marriage carpet. This was also a year surprisingly rich in cribs and cradles. The number of births set a record. Over 700,000 newborns came into the world.

Without a doubt demographics is one of the few areas in our lives that has been spared the problems of the crisis. Statistics show that the demographic indicators are still moving up. The year 1982 seemed exceptional from the viewpoint of population growth (702,000 new children), but 1983 will be the year noted as a record year in our post-war history.

What will 1984 be like? It is difficult to predict in advance but all indicators show that it will not be much worse. It is sure that we will reach a total of 37 million citizens. The prospect of a 40-million-inhabitant Poland seems much closer.

The frequent sight of mothers with small children on buses, in stores, walking on city sidewalks only confirms the fact that a high population growth is taking place chiefly in the cities. According to a 6-year forecast there will be 24 million city inhabitants, while the rural population will hold steady at 15 million.

Demographers are not the only people pondering the reasons for the demographic boom of the 1980's. There are many hypotheses. Surely a great influence on the higher number of births, which seems to run counter to the economic, housing and supply difficulties, are the social policies of the nation. Leave and monetary assistance for the purpose of child raising are influencing many women

to have more than one child and give birth again quickly. It must be remembered that the present generation of young parents are children born during the post-war baby boom. Hence the opinion that the present high is an echo of the previous one.

Family happiness and the more common choice of the multiple-child family model is still not everything. A result of the population explosion are the necessary modifications in social policies, educational and health policies.

To avoid repeating previous errors it is necessary to notice the needs of the growing children, to assure them places in creches, pre-schools, and schools, and after several years places in the work force, in housing, in improved health care for mothers and children.

Today there are enough problems with the purchase of baby clothing and food without even mentioning the dozens of examples of pains and difficulties connected with organizing a household, or furnishing that much-desired apartment.

For the children born in the 1980's, we hope, these problems will belong to the distant past.

Positive, Negative Aspects Discussed

Warsaw KIERUNKI in Polish No 4, 22 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by AL: "Is There Really a New High?"]

[Text] Are we facing the presence of a new population explosion which will top the one of the 1950's? If so, then what is the cause? Considering the crisis, is that good or bad? These are the questions which are the daily work of Polish demographers, and which were the subject of discussion at this year's first meeting of the Family Council of the PAX organization. The background for discussion was formed by a report by Prof Mikolaj Latuch entitled "The Positive and Negative Aspects of the Present Demographic Situation" and a report by Boguslaw Jedruszek concerning the demographic structures in the light of migrations within the country.

"The demographic record of the past year which expressed itself in over 710,000 births," said Prof Latuch, "can be compared to the situation which took place in the 1950's. The sharp rise in the number of births during that time was decisively aided by the nationalistic policies of the government which were dependent on the biological rebuilding of a war-devastated nation. The present crisis, however, seemed to forecast a regression in the number of births. Things turned out to be just the opposite."

What are the reasons? Definitive research which would explain the state of things has not yet started, but at present several hypotheses may be proposed. A major role is attributed to the availability of child-raising leaves, the recognition given to large families, and the activities which assist such families. It is also necessary to note causes of a psychosocial nature connected to stress due to the crisis, the escape of the individual "into the family," and the recently observed renewal of Catholic life, which had a considerable effect on the increase in the number of births.

Today it is impossible to say much about the details of the problems, since there is a lack of detailed studies. But it is possible, and not only demographers but the mass media as well are doing this, to consider the consequences of the present state of things and pose the question of whether the present high, assuming that one exists, is a positive or negative phenomenon.

The answer is not simple and has many interpretations since this phenomenon, like all social phenomena, has the proverbial two sides of the coin, the positive and the negative. Among the first is the partial halt in the aging of the Polish population. Much was said of this in connection with the lows of the 1960's and early 1970's. Another positive phenomenon, combined with the fact that among the births second and third children predominate, is the transformation of our families into families without only one child (and one does not have to explain the advantages in child raising due to this). As a result of this process births to married couples have stabilized and are at 95 percent. These are the most important positive aspects.

There is a danger that is impossible to overlook, in that the everyday quality of our lives can quickly turn advantages into disadvantages if appropriate countermeasures are not taken. The increased needs of the family are after all a matter of new schools, pre-schools, creches, the possibility of the housing industry emerging from the deep hole in which it currently resides. Beside these considerations are other items, immediately obvious to the average citizen of our nation: the increasing death rate, predominant among men and tied to the so-called diseases of civilization and the progressive degradation of the natural environment; the progress of social pathology, the most dangerous manifestations of which, since they encompass more and more of the younger generation, are alcoholism and drug addiction; and the tendency to emigrate that is also present among the young. All this points to the necessity of creating, as quickly as possible, realistic chances for the development of the young generation in all areas. Without this the present procreational tendencies will remain in the area of paper slogans because financial family aid and child-raising leaves will be insufficient.

Another aspect of the problem which is equally important are the trends of migration. These exist everywhere and are nothing new to any country. The result is the rather worrisome! There exist growing flaws in the structure of population distribution in various regions of Poland. As a result of many years of erroneous policies of investment, of tying people to mostly industrial production, many provinces (especially the agricultural ones) have been deserted while the population has concentrated around the industrial cities. The best, though not the only, example is the Katowice area, which is now bulging at the seams. In some provinces the population indicators show 40 to 60 persons per square kilometer, in the central provinces this exceeds 100. The farming areas are aging, they are abandoned by youth, but much already has been written about this and it is not worth repeating. The conclusion here can only be that a good agricultural policy is needed.

What is the summation? Not only is it difficult, but too soon. In the opinion of Prof Latuch, the positives outweigh the negatives in the phenomenon of the present population explosion. There are demographers who ask whether it really exists, or whether it is a simple result of the fact that the age "for starting families" was matched by the real high of the post-war period. Whatever the reason, the problem exists and demands detailed studies and detailed solutions.

The January meeting of the Family Council of the PAX organization was the beginning of a set cycle of discussions devoted to this problem. Their establishment and purpose is to create a broad and complete picture of life and the development of man in the family within our nation.

Large Population Advocated

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 4, 29 Jan 84 pp 1,3

[Article by Henryk Borucinski: "Many Children--Much Trouble, Few Children--Disaster"]

[Text] In France the fears of a population decrease are alive again. It was noticed that in 3 months, from December 1982 to March 1983, there was a drop in the number of births. It was conceded that if this tendency continues then 1983 will be the blackest year for France since the capitulation during World War II. At the beginning of next year the official figures will be released but experts believe that the tendencies are of a long-lasting nature since they are determined by past phenomena. To maintain a constant population the average family should have 2.2 to 2.3 children. Then the reproductive coefficient drops by 0.9 or 0.8 [as published], there may be a growth in the population. But in the next generation there will be a violent drop in the number of births and it is difficult to reverse this.

The interpretation of indicators is boring but we will continue to work at it. It was noticed in France that the birth coefficient, the number of women of reproductive age in relation to the number of births, which should exceed 2.0, was oscillating between 1.94 and 1.78! This is alarming because it forecasts a drop in the population. From studies conducted by the French INED Institute this demographic breakdown can be noticed in all of Europe. The author of an article published in LE POINT under the title "Less Frenchmen" remarks (bitingly or joyfully?) that "only Catholic Poland is, as could be predicted, maintaining its population." In West Germany the birth rate indicator fell to 1.72 in 1972 and to 1.42 in 1982. That nation can only maintain its population level only through the assimilation of foreigners. In Holland the drop was even more drastic, from a factor of 2.14 to 1.49. In Italy it fell from 2.34 to 1.49, in Spain from 2.84 to 1.85. From data of the last few months it appears that Denmark is the country most bent on depopulating itself. Between December and March its birthrate fell from a low of 1.42 to 1.34.

The author of the article from which I borrowed these figures (reprinted in FORUM September 1983) states that France gained its position in Europe thanks to its large population. Bonaparte could run amok in Europe, Frenchmen could conquer foreign lands, in 3 years they could repay the staggering reparations after their defeat by the Prussians in 1870. When Napoleon moved to the conquest

of Russia these two countries had similar populations. Looking back even further, in the Golden Age of Greece, Athens had 100,000 inhabitants. The Greeks colonized islands in the Mediterranean Sea, populated Alexandria and Southern Italy. Then it started. Around 800 BC Hesiod recommended limiting the number of children for economic reasons. The laws of Lycurgus and Solon permitted the killing of plebian children (plebians being considered a class which endangered the social order). People are prone to take the easy way out. After all, having children means sweat, difficulties, troubles, work and worry. It takes some imagination to sacrifice personal happiness and comfort for a nation's future. About the 4th century BC the Greeks begin to worry about their children's future and limit their numbers voluntarily. In Sparta ill children were thrown from a cliff, while Spartan girls practiced fencing and wrestling with the boys. They did not want to give birth. The result? Greece, with "unconquered" Sparta, disappeared from the pages of history only to reappear centuries later as a nation of an entirely different category. Rome was mighty when it had a large population. It fell when it grew rich, fell into depravity and lost its biological resiliency. Tacitus held that the depravation of customs was the most effective way to keep a conquered nation enslaved (...voluptatibus, guibus Romani, plus adwersus subiectos, guam armis volent; Tacitus, "Historiae"). The Romans depraved themselves most effectively, and passed into history. We know that China and India survived all invasions thanks to a large population. This is a banal example. In India people died from hunger. Let us look at Japan's example. Up to the middle of the 19th century Japan was unnoticed. The government ordered the killing of additional children for fear of famine (A. Zischka, "Japan"). Then a fundamental change took place when, during the second half of the 19th century, an imperial delegation returned from a visit to Europe and America with the observation that populous nations were wealthy and strong. As a result, Japan, which consists of crowded islands that are without fertile land, can feed 100 million citizens and is a leading economic power in the world. The Germans were hungry and not too wealthy when there were few of them. When their numbers exceeded those of France they emerged as an European power. It is only necessary to study the history of North American families to observe the connection between the growth in power and the biological resiliency of the United States. Pioneer families often had 10 to 12 children. If there had been more of us than Germans there would have been no German move to the east. If more Poles had been born than Russians there would have been no partitions of Poland. When we emerged as a nation there were five times as many Germans, but in the 15th century Poland had more population than Russia of that time. Masses move in the direction of least resistance. The Germans moved east, and so did we. At a certain moment in history it happened that there was more resistance in the east and in the west. "When in 1792 Prussia, Austria, and Russia had 56 million inhabitants to our 8.8 million they had 100 million units of income to our 7.7 million. When they sent an army of 786,000 toward us, we sent out 69,000 ... a mere patrol." (Walenty Majdanski, "Power and the Cradle" printed in "Milicja Niepokalanej" 1946)

The time has come for the question, "Why these historical examples?" I believe that in this matter we cannot limit ourselves to matters of social existence. Besides the actual family we must see the real nation and its place in the

world. Besides everyday problems we must be able to see the future. After the Second World War we gained 10 million in population. We rebuilt the war losses, with the difference that before the war Poland was a nation with a considerable percentage of national minorities, while today it is ethnographically "pure."

When, after the war, we were faced with difficulties we were reminded, between the lines, that in East Germany the housing problem had been solved, but there the population declined after the war. In Czechoslovakia this problem was also solved but they did not have the growth we had...

Yes, we gained population. Will that explain our economic difficulties? We can give examples of nations and countries living in indolence and not caring whether they are gaining population or not. In West Germany the economic miracle can be attributed not only to the Marshall Plan but to many other favorable factors, such as the influx of population. These were people of "productive" age, but, for example, the French postwar rebirth (not just economic but psychological as well) can be connected to a large extent to a short rise in the birth rate. It is an old truth that nothing mobilizes parents toward effective work better than a large number of children. A nation that possesses a large number of children is charged with a priceless potential that can be compared to the great national treasure of a national enthusiasm for work. Where the parents and the growing generation are shown the possibilities of development and given a chance of benefitting from it, then mountains may easily be moved. History does not forgive the dampening of such enthusiasm. After our enthusiastic period of "shovel and wagon" which lasted several years, this capital was not utilized, possibly for the reason that private enterprise is and has been effectively stifled.

How is it really in Poland with population growth? Those who analyze the demographic data will notice that we have tendencies that are similar to those in other European nations -- an escape from children. The demographic "explosion" which has recently surprised many of our activists clouds the real picture. In 1946 there were 23,767,000 of us. Last year there were 36,399,000 Polish citizens. The population gain proceeded in jumps because of the deep rift produced by the war. The amplitude of these jumps was increased by other factors, among them those of social existence, which effectively brought in the appearance of "highs," or large waves of births, which occurred over the span of a few years. When persons born during a high reach marriageable age a new high occurs. The first high occurred in Poland (as a relaxation after the occupation?) during the 1950's. During the 1970's these people reached marriageable age and we have an echo from the previous high. This is a disadvantageous phenomenon because every so many years there is a shortage of things needed by children. Highs occur even when there is a general tendency for the number of births to decrease. In my opinion, Poland's demographic situation is worrisome for several reasons. In 1982 for every 1,000 Polish inhabitants 19.4 children were born and 9.2 persons died. This was a population increase of 10.2, one of the highest in Europe. Only Albania, Iceland, and Ireland had higher growth. It could be said that we were giving birth to a power. This is a great worry for Minister Kukuryka and "housing" chairman Saar. I am worried by something else. In Poland the family type that is becoming established is 2+2, with a tendency for 2+1. The agrarian structures have collapsed. The old farm family with many children is a legend. To digress,

much is said about fertilizer and farm machinery, but I think that the greatest need is for young women who want to live and work on the farm.

Presently, because of the migrations and the abandonment of the farm, most children are born in the cities, not on the farm. In Polish demographics the division of farm-city no longer makes sense. The structure must be considered in terms of social groups. Those who could provide a cultural atmosphere and good living conditions for their children have the fewest. In the wealthiest social groups the family type 2+1 predominates. This family type raises single children, egoists and consumption-oriented brats.

Last year in Poland for every 1,000 live births there were 20.4 infant deaths. This is a shameful indicator, one of the highest in Europe. It is surely due to the low availability of medical services, low sanitary levels, alcoholism of the parents, etc. But even here there are surprises. Hungary, which has a higher standard of living, also has a higher indicator. Item: in 1981 the lowest infant death indicator belonged to Sweden, 7.0; the highest to Yugoslavia 30.7.

Returning to our high, it seems that the reproductive level did not change during the entire decade of the 1970's. The record year of 1982 was surprising to only a few demographers. Many thought that the crisis would slow population growth and increase infant deaths. Others recalled that the crisis of the 1930's caused an increase in population in many countries, Poland included. The deciding factor seems to be the declining activity of women in the work force.

In observing the infant death and the number of miscarriages, it is plain that these events are connected with the women's work under conditions which are harmful to health. The highest frequencies appear in the copper industry and in Lodz. Therefore it must be admitted that the explosion of births is due to some extent to the decreased activity of women in the work force (not only of the mothers but of the grandmothers as well) and the possibilities offered by child raising leave and monetary aid to families. It is interesting to note that in the farm population, which has no child raising leave, nothing has changed.

The present average Polish family has 2.3 children. It is therefore close to even reproduction. This is the fact to be reckoned with, not sporadic demographic outbursts. In Italy women carried placards with the slogan "My womb is mine." This encourages a comparison between wealthy "white" nations and the ancient empires that fell. Will we follow? But I am not writing about that. To survive in central Europe there must be 80 million of us. Three children per family is not enough. We should quickly reach an agreement with Czechoslovakia about forming a nation of three peoples. (I can write about this from the point of "what little Kazio thinks about big politics.")

12411

CSO: 2600/648

CATHOLIC WEEKLY CALLS SANCTIONS 'DETRIMENTAL'

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 4, 11 Mar 84 p 1

[Article by Witold Olszewski: "Opportunity"]

[Text] Is it not convenient for those responsible for the plight of the Polish economy to have the American economic restrictions weighing heavily over our economy? This is not the principal problem, but most certainly a very serious one. So serious that without the restrictions being lifted, there is no possibility of an improvement in our foreign trade, without which an improvement in our country's financial condition is out of the question. The structure of the Polish economy was involved with too many ties with the West not to be shaken by a brutal severance of these connections. Because Poland's small potential was affected by a serious crisis, this shock is being felt more severely.

Ignoring the minor discriminations, two categories of restrictions have a particularly painful dimension. These are: revocation of the most-favored-nation clause and making it impossible for us to take advantage of the International Monetary Fund credits.

The most-favored-nation clause, in spite of its name, is not some extraordinary distinction. A majority of countries on the basis of reciprocity take advantage of it in international trading. It means that a country taking advantage of this clause has the possibility of selling its goods on the same conditions which are given to the most favored partner of the importing country. In other words, the revocation of this privilege results in Polish goods becoming more expensive in the United States, since their prices reflect a much higher import duty. In this manner, without any formal import restrictions, Polish products in reality disappear from a lucrative market in which they were found practically as a tradition. These, then, are the results of the process of discrimination.

The inability to join the International Monetary Fund has forced Poland to buy the necessary foreign goods strictly on a cash basis. In many cases we must prepay before taking delivery. Is it necessary to explain that while in such a corset, Poland's international trade is suffocating and showing signs of diminishing? This process is aggravated by the fact that other Western nations, even those who consider the sanctions to be an aberration, are pressured by the powerful American economic machine and must take it into account.

What can be done about this complicated situation? The answer could be that in addition to various political maneuvers, invaluable support could be gained through the help of the patriotic American Poles. There are approximately 10 million Americans of Polish ancestry in the United States. American presidents always take into serious consideration such large blocs of votes at the time of elections. As an example, at the time of the First World War

Ignacy Paderewski achieved many concessions from President Wilson, using the elections as leverage. In the Second World War, President Roosevelt with premeditation concealed political decisions unpopular with Polish American citizenry because he did not want to lose the Polish vote while seeking a fourth term. It just so happens that the pre-election period has begun. If the American Polonia decided to wage war against the economic restrictions imposed against the "old country", efforts for their withdrawal surely could be successful; if not a total, then at least a sizeable concession could be gained. The blockage of the Polish economy would be broken.

Polonia always could make a distinction between the interests of the Polish people living in Poland and actual politics. For instance, at the height of the Cold War the Polish American Congress with good logic petitioned its government to recognize Poland's western borders and also to obtain credit assistance for Poland. An exception to this was the period of our martial law. At that time the Polonia leaders impulsively favored President Reagan's sanctions. They imagined that this was a viable weapon against martial law.

At the present time it cannot be doubted that the sanctions have a very limited effect on political decisions in Poland. Instead, they have become a burden for the nation since they impede our economy, they deprive it of the necessary drive and are responsible for prolonging the crisis to the point where it will affect the coming generation. Living with a constantly tightening belt at a reduced tempo, without the possibilities of attaining self-sufficiency--even with the help of allies--has to have a negative effect on Poland's future. Marking time is dangerous when others are progressing rapidly.

So these are approximately the dilemmas with which the American Polonia's conscience has to wrestle: are they to stand by and look on passively while Poland thrashes about in the snare of restrictions, embroiled in a deep economic crisis, or are they to help in their liquidation, or at least in their gradual relaxation, in the interest of the Polish nation, for whom no gifts, not even the most generous, can alter the economic situation?

In this paper and in this column, we took a negative position regarding President Reagan's sanctions. We are a Catholic publication, politically independent from the ruling party. We are not motivated by anything but the unvarying interest of the Polish people, residing in the country of Poland, carrying the name of the Polish People's Republic. The short time that has elapsed since then has shown the myopic that sanctions have not effected policies, but instead have had serious consequences reflected in the momentum and dimension of the Polish economic development and the fate of this nation, which is trying to exist with an increasingly tightened belt, hoping for the future.

Poland is too large a political entity to collapse under the weight of restrictions. However, it is a real problem to vegetate in the vise of restrictions and under the weight of impossible debts to be repaid under these conditions. There is always time for reconsideration and initiative for the patriotic American Polonia.

12306

CSO: 2600/824

BRIEFS

PZPR SOCIAL SCIENCES SEMINAR--A nationwide seminar of directors of university-level social sciences institutes and centers was held in Warsaw from 5 to 6 April. The ensuing debate was centered around themes raised in addresses delivered by professor B. Ratus, director of the Science and Education Department of the PZPR Central Committee, and professor St. Nowacki, vice minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology, on the subject of the role of the social sciences in the educational process at the university level. The meeting participants also heard a report from A. Merker, general director of the Office of Religious Affairs. The participants also met with H. Bednarski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Apr 84 p 2]

AGITPROP LEAD UP TO ELECTIONS--The main thrust of party work in the wake of the National Delegates Conference and the tasks confronting the PZPR in the campaign and elections for the peoples councils formed the agenda of a meeting held in Warsaw on 2 April between Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and lecturers of the PZPR Central Committee and provincial committees. Emphasis was placed on coming up with ways to publicize the conference's record and achievements among the party aktiv and its rank-and-file membership and on identifying the tasks to be performed by party lecturers in this regard. Preparations for the elections to the peoples councils and the work that needs to be done in this regard by party units and organizations also came in for a great deal of discussion. Some of the topics discussed included programs to be initiated by the party with a view to identifying candidates for council seats, preparations for participation in the campaign of pre-election meetings and the drafting of election platforms, and also essential training and propaganda programs to be undertaken in this regard. The meeting was chaired by Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the PZPR Central Committee Ideology Department. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Apr 84 p 6]

'PRON'-ARMED FORCES TALKS--On 30 March the chairman of the PRON National Council, Jan Dobraczynski, accompanied by Gen of Arms Jozef Baryla, vice minister of national defense and chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces, toured the Communications Troops Officers Higher School in Zegrze near Warsaw. During talks held with the commanding officers, teaching staff and students of this institution the chairman of the PRON National Council talked about the current tasks of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and about the role to be played by Polish Armed Forces in rallying all segments of society around the cause of defending the critical interests of the Polish state and nation. A party was also given in the evening during which Jan Dobraczynski read from his works. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Mar-1 Apr 84 p 2]

KUBIAK IN OPOLE--Professor Hieronim Kubiak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, held a meeting in Opole with the ideological affairs aktiv of Opole Province. Opinions were voiced on lessons learned by the party over the past few years, and frequent references were made to the information contained in the PZPR Central Committee commission formed for the purpose of accounting for the origins and evolution of the social conflicts which have occurred during the history of postwar Poland. The participants in the meeting were unanimous in their belief that the PZPR National Delegates Conference has once again proved the need for the party to closely coordinate the political, economic, and ideological dimensions of all its programs. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Mar 84 p 6]

CSO: 2600/896

RABBI SAYS JEWISH FEDERATION IS NOT 'SPRINGBOARD TO EMIGRATION'

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 15 Mar 84 p 7

[Article: "Expanded Session of the Steering Committee of the Federation of Jewish Communities in the Socialist Republic of Romania"]

[Text] The expanded session of the steering committee of the Federation of Jewish Communities took place on 11 March in the hall on Popa Soare Street.

Presenting the report on the activity of the Federation during the past year, the general secretary, Lawyer E. Sechter, said that despite the decrease in the number of members in the community (1,300-1,400 people who made the Aliyah [to Israel] and 914 who died), there has been a qualitative improvement and, in some respects, a quantitative improvement (for example, in the area of cultural activity) in community life. In the cities with a small number of Jews, like Tulcea, Birlad, Tecuci, Arad, etc., Talmud Torah courses have been initiated, and in many communities in the country, lectures on Judaism were given by outstanding members of the community. All this proves that Jewish life is present in our communities.

According to the records of the communities, there are 7,881 Jewish families in the country, with 28,556 members. The general secretary of the Federation, Lawyer E. Sechter, stressed the significance of the monetary contribution given by members of the congregation as a moral principle. Most of these contributions are used for the maintenance of the cemeteries.

Another matter treated by the speaker was the discrepancies which exist between the different communities in the country in regard to the total number of people receiving assistance and the number of Jews in the respective localities. In some cases the figure is 40 percent and in others, 8-9 percent, although the number of members of the community is nearly equal. Therefore, the general secretary of the Federation recommended that the leaders of the communities show greater attention and more discernment in granting the social assistance requested.

In regard to the celebration of Passover for the year 5744, he said that the measures for the proper distribution of matzos and the organization of collective seders are intended to ensure the development, in the spirit of age-old traditions, of the celebration of the liberation of the Jewish people from slavery.

In their speeches, the presidents of the communities in Braila (Lawyer Paul Hornstein), Galati (Lawyer Leon Iacobsohn), Arad (Weisz Wilhelm) thanked the leadership of the Federation and its president, His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen, for the intense activity carried out for maintaining and improving community life. They stressed the importance of the lectures, food for the mind and spirit, held in their communities; they spoke about the Talmud Torah choirs, the kosher restaurants, the old-age homes, and the medical and social assistance units which are in these communities.

In his speech, His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen conveyed to the representatives of the Jewish community in Romania the admiration which Itzhak Artzi, former assistant mayor of Tel Aviv and A. Zahareanu, chief editor of the review VIATA NOASTRA in Israel, expressed for the achievement of this community, on the occasion of a symposium on the subject "Israel and Eastern Europe." Shlomo Lahat, the mayor of Tel Aviv said: "I came to Romania as a skeptic, when I visited on the occasion of a "Hanukkiade," and I left as a fan and follower of Chief Rabbi Rosen." We are a small, old community, His Eminence added, but its deeds have a world-wide echo.

Referring to conversion to Judaism, His Eminence stated that conversion is permitted only for those who do so out of deep conviction. He said that the Federation of Jewish Communities "is not a springboard for emigration," that one should not confuse the act of making the Aliyah [to Israel] and emigrating, since the first concept designates a person who wants to contribute to the rebuilding of the Holy Land and to become reunited with his family.

Stressing the importance of the collective seders for all the members of our community to learn about the history of the Jewish people and, in general, for the good development of community life in all aspects, His Eminence emphasized that all these things are possible as a result of the excellent relations with the state organs which give us every support. His Eminence expressed complete gratitude to President Nicolae Ceausescu for understanding our special situation as remnants of the Holocaust.

[Editorial Note: The same issue of REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC publishes, on page 9 an English version of the above, omitting Rabbi Rosen's comments on conversion and the difference between making the Aliyah to Israel and emigrating.]

CSO: 2700/174

TAXES ON FOREIGN VEHICLES TRANSPORTING GOODS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 20, 17 Mar 84 p 2

[Council of State Decree Amending Decree No 250/1981 on Establishing a System for the Use of Roads by Vehicles Registered in Other Countries Which Transport Goods in International Traffic on the Territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article I -- Decree No 250/1981 on establishing a system for the use of roads by vehicles registered in other countries which transport goods in international traffic on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I No 64 of 1 September 1981, is amended as follows:

1. Article 3 will read as follows:

"Article 3 -- Vehicles, including trailers and semi-trailers, registered in other states, which travel on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with or without freight, are subject to the payment of the following taxes:

- a) a transport authorization tax of 5 dollars, in U.S. currency;
- b) a road use tax of 0.0073 dollars, in U.S. currency, per ton of total gross weight (the weight of the vehicle plus the freight) and per kilometer travelled;
- c) a supplementary tax of 0.022 dollars, in U.S. currency, per ton of total gross weight and per kilometer travelled, in cases in which the vehicles exceed:
 - the maximum limits of axle tonnage or of dimensions or only some of these limits, acceptable according to law;
 - the maximum limits of axle tonnage or of dimensions or only of some of these limits, applicable to vehicles registered in the Socialist Republic

of Romania, on the territories of other states which have set lower limits than those provided by Romanian legislation;

d) a tax of 0.03 dollars, in U.S. currency, per kilometer travelled for partial compensation for the cost of fuel, applicable to vehicles registered in states which, on their territory, levy such taxes on vehicles registered in the Socialist Republic of Romania."

2. Article 4 will read as follows:

"Article 4 -- The taxes provided for in the present decree are paid in convertible free currency, with the conversion, if necessary, of the sum expressed in U.S. dollars, at the official rate with bonus in existence as of the date of payment.

For vehicles registered in the socialist countries, with the exception of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Peoples Republic of China, the highway taxes are set in lei, in accordance with the annex*) to the present decree, and will be paid in lei or in transferrable rubles.

If there is an agreement on payments between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the state in which the respective vehicle is registered, the payment of the taxes is carried out with the observance of the provisions of this agreement."

3. Article 6, letter e) will have the following content:

"e) the application of percentage-based taxes on the value of the goods transported or on the basis of the length of time that the vehicles are on Romanian territory or taxes of another nature which would be similar to those levied on vehicles registered in the Socialist Republic of Romania on the territories of the states which impose such taxes. If the documents accompanying the shipment do not reveal the value of the goods, a set tax of 275 dollars, in U.S. currency, will be applied for each vehicle."

Article II -- The present decree goes into effect 15 days from the date of its publication in BULETINUL OFICIAL.

*) The annex is being transmitted to the institutions concerned.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 16 March 1984

No 91

CSO: 2700/173

END